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ILLINOIS: SCANDAL GONE TO WASTE by Elmer Gertz

THE Nation

SEPTEMBER 22, 1956
20c

COURAGE IN ACTION

- *FARM IN GEORGIA*
- *PHILADELPHIA THEATRE*

Evolution of Socialism

British Labor Looks to the Future

by R. T. McKenzie and David Thomson

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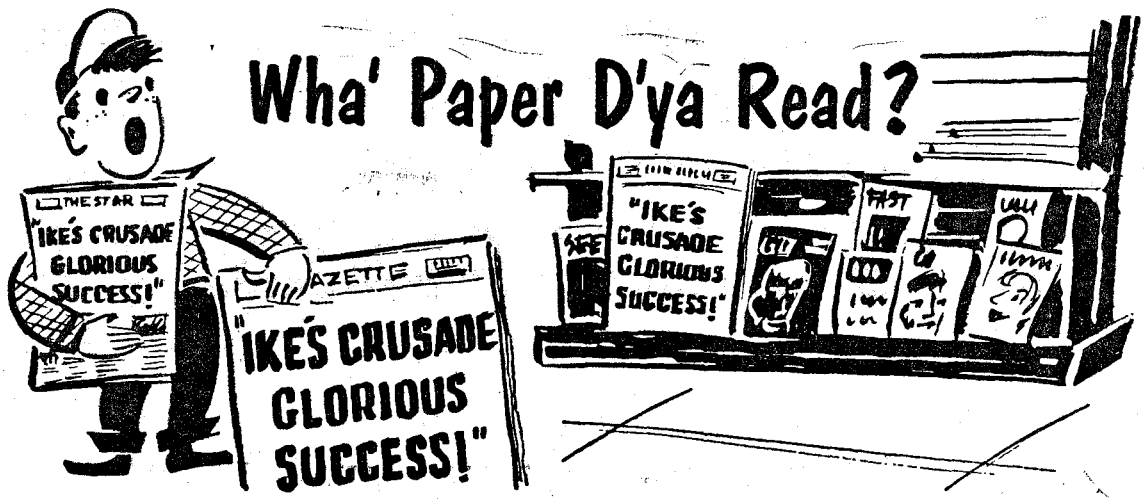

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1956
VOLUME 183, NUMBER 12

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Brave Are Free

Deep social conflicts are the great precipitants of human bravery. And the same paradox always prevails in these "times that try men's souls": the brave are certain to be few in number and isolated, but such is the contagion and exhilaration of courage that more often than not it is the act of individual bravery that determines the shape of the future. So in Philadelphia actress Gale Sondergaard and a handful of civic and political leaders defied the local censors and the Un-American Activities Committee (see page 233 of this issue); the resultant victory leaves us all a little more free than we were yesterday.

Today the South is divided into three unequal social parts: the partisans of the past, massive, angry, fear-ridden and stupid; the silent onlookers, numerous, unhappy, irresolute and uncommitted, captives of manifold misgivings and apprehensions; and the brave, Negro and white, standing alone, conscious of their isolation but not of their power. These last are the only free souls in the South today. There are many of them: the residents of Koinonia Farm in Georgia (see page 237 this issue); the Negro students who, in their thirst for knowledge and passion for human dignity, have been ascending those steep steps and walking down those long corridors, staring straight ahead, pretending not to hear the gibes and digs and the always audible chant, "nigger, nigger, nigger"; and the utterly courageous parents who have encouraged these Negro children to run the gauntlet and to set their faces unflinchingly toward the future. The American citizen who does not respect the magnificent courage that the South's brave ones are exhibiting today has lost the feel of freedom. In them the future is foreshadowed.

The Affair Javits

Everyone connected with the tawdry Javits affair, including the intended victim, should feel some embarrassment about it. Reading between the lines, one may assume that some powerful factotum in the Republican Party—it could have been Mr. Dewey—took Mr. Javits to one side and, in the commanding tones that those who hold power use in addressing those who aspire to it, told him that he must "swallow a toad," that is, appear as an accused before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and perform the necessary rites and make the usual obeisances. The subcommittee, of course, was the source of the "rumors" about Mr. Javits. For a man of Mr. Javits' liberal background, his appearance before the committee must have been quite a toad to swallow but now that he has won the Republican Senatorial nomination he may be able to forget the unpleasantness. By way of penance, however, he should be made to read his testimony at least once, aloud, in a room large enough to echo the sound and furnished only with a portrait of Senator Herbert H. Lehman, framed for emphasis and hung at eye-level.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Republicans did nominate Mr. Javits despite the mischievous "rumors." It would be glorious if one could report that he was nominated despite his own testimony rather than because of it but alas! this can't be said. Even so, the embarrassment which the Javits affair caused high-level New York Republicans could result in a bi-partisan truce in the smear-brush war. Now that the Republicans have nominated Mr. Javits and the Democrats have named Mayor Robert F. Wagner, both able candidates, the campaign can proceed upon the basis of what these men have to say about the issues.

Defense Spending: New Phase

A remarkable shift in defense spending is taking place in response to new developments in military technology. In line with what we had to report on the aircraft probe (August 11, p. 117), the government-sponsored and financed aircraft companies have replaced the automobile manufacturers as the chief beneficiaries of our cold-war jitters. According to a survey of the *Journal of Commerce* (August 10), aircraft and guided missile industries in 1955 received about 25 per cent of the net value of all military prime contracts. The automobile industry, which had about 25 per cent of all defense work during World War II, received only 4.5 per cent of prime contracts in 1955. Last year new defense business amounted to less than 1 per cent of all GM business.

By contrast, the "war baby" aircraft companies are booming. In 1955 Boeing received more defense dollars than any other company: $792.2 million. North American Aviation was second, with $790.8 million; ranking third and fourth, respectively, were General

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Dynamic (Consolidated-Vultee), with $781.7 million and United Aircraft Corporation with $587.4 million. Other aircraft companies were bunched near the top: Lockheed, eighth place ($412.7 million); Curtiss-Wright, ninth, ($354.7 million); Douglas, tenth, ($291.1 million). Incidentally the aircraft "war babies," which tend to be "cry babies" over profits, managed to do fairly well. North American Aviation earned $9.42 a share; sales were up 27 per cent. Boeing, 99.7 per cent devoted to government work, earned 3.56 per cent on huge sales; North American, 99.6 per cent devoted to government work, made 4 per cent; Douglas Aircraft, 88.9 per cent devoted to defense work, earned 2.5 per cent, and Lockheed, 80.9 per cent devoted to national defense, earned 3.25 per cent. Considering that these percentages are based on sales and represent "after taxes" figures, and that these companies were largely government-financed and made extensive use of government equipment, no one need feel sorry for the aircraft companies.

The shift in defense spending from auto to aircraft has important political implications. It is by no means surprising but nevertheless worth noting that the Senators who are the strongest advocates of increased appropriations for military aircraft represent states with burgeoning aircraft industries. And if United Aircraft has, as it boasts, unfilled orders totaling $2.1 billion, and if the Convair Division of General Dynamics can project a $40 million new plant near San Diego, and if Curtiss-Wright—which was given $200 million in defense work so that it might take over Studebaker-Packard—can project a $50 million expansion program, then it would seem reasonable to suggest that these companies should either start paying rent to the government for public plant-and-equipment in their possession, or be made to purchase it. The aircraft companies aren't "babies" any more.

Socialist Unity in Italy

THE New York *Times*, reporting on the Nenni-Saragat negotiations in Italy, makes us wonder again how the newspaper construes its function: to report the news or to make it, to analyze events or to wish them.

On October 1, Arnaldo Cortesi wrote from Rome that the prospective unity of Nenni's left-wing Socialists and Saragat's Social Democrats is a "truly sensational political development." "The spice" in the news, he added, was that "Signor Nenni seemed to be moving toward Signor Saragat rather than the other way around." This meant that Nenni, despite his denials, was breaking with the Communists because—again according to Cortesi—"there seems little doubt that this was a fundamental postulate on which his negotiations with Signor Saragat was founded."

Having firmly established the premise, Cortesi gave free rein to his imagination. The Communists would be weakened in their biggest stronghold in Western Europe, the Center parties would be strengthened, the Western alliance reinvigorated. Furthermore, Nenni "would do well if he took half his party with him into the anti-Communist camp." "Communist hopes in Italy" would receive "a shattering blow" while the Christian Democrats, still the governing party, would find a reinforcement in the unified party. Nenni was prepared to make this major sacrifice because, opined Mr. Cortesi, "He had apparently been soured by the fact that for the last nine years he and his Socialists had been out of the government."

Three days later Mr. Cortesi's political miracle began to look dubious. Nenni's terms for unification, handed to Pierre Commin, the intermediary acting for the Socialist International, were "judged disappointing by most anti-Communists in Italy." Nenni insisted on a neutralist foreign policy, he was vague about his

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unity pact with the Communists, he wanted a return of the right-wing Socialist unions to the biggest union federation, the CGT, led jointly by the Communists and Nenni-ites. On September 5, Cortesi tried hard to keep up a good front: In the "compromise" necessary for the fusion "it appears that Signor Nenni has yielded the most."

But the following day, Mr. Cortesi's pleasing apparition became a nightmare. While M. Commin declared himself gratified with the progress made, Mr. Cortesi reported "misgivings in the Italian newspapers about the projected merger . . . caused by doubt that Signor Nenni's sudden conversion to democracy can be trusted." And now the correspondent found it possible that the "soured" politician who four days earlier had allegedly lost his shirt to Saragat had maneuvered so that "Signor Saragat may find himself in Signor Nenni's camp rather than the other way around."

Had Mr. Cortesi confined himself to an interpretation of the facts, his mood would have been less mercurial, and, above all, he could not have overlooked the most important consequence of the merger. It could shatter the precarious unity of Right, Left and Center in the Christian Democratic Party.

The comments of Ignazio Silone, one of the authors of *The God That Failed,* seem particularly appropriate: "Confirming the importance of the event in process is the perplexed and hostile attitude of the Right and a part of the Center, which a short time ago were deploring the political subordination of the Socialist Party to the Communists and exhorting it to independence. But hardly has this independence emerged as a possibility than a grave peril is seen . . . The Right politicians (and partly the Center ones) are in reality less anti-Communist in the name of freedom then they are anti-Socialist in the name of the old social order. Socialist unification cannot be conceived of in anti-Communist perspective, but rather in an anti-capitalist one."

Mukden's Warning

ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1931, the Kwantung Army attacked at Mukden, and Japan had started along the road that led to national disaster. A quarter-century later, the Asian scene presents some striking parallels, some major differences—and a warning for the United States.

The Japanese, defending their armed action in Manchuria before the League of Nations, argued that existing conditions in China menaced Japan's security: "China came under Communist influence in the past and . . . is at present in danger of becoming communistic. . . . Japan . . . cannot regard with equanimity the 'bolshevization' of China. . . . Japan is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in the Far East." The League of Nations judged the Japanese military action unjustified, and Japan withdrew from the League—which then began to die.

The United States also rejected the Japanese argument. From the beginning of the century, it had stood for the commercial Open Door in China and respect for China's territorial and political integrity. It desired stability in the West Pacific, and had often opposed Japan. It condemned the 1931 Manchurian adventure and Japan's war on China proper that followed in 1937. The United States was blasted into the Pacific war at Pearl Harbor in 1941 basically because it had refused to acknowledge Japan's dominance in East Asia.

During World War II—and after—we aimed in Asia at (1) The destruction of Japan as a military power, (2) The build-up of China to take Japan's place as the Great Power of East Asia; and (3) The reduction of Asian colonialism. Did our policies achieve a stable order in Asia? The question hardly requires an answer. Japan's military might was destroyed, but a Communist China allied itself to the Soviet Union—and "Bolshevism" is stronger by a continent. The balance of power in East Asia has been shattered: from Manchuria to the Black Sea the Communist bloc presses outward, while British, Dutch and French colonial power has retreated from Asia almost *in toto.* Asian peoples are rising to challenge not only Western political authority but basic Occidental cultural values as well. And, in practice, the United States is discovered to dislike both colonialism and Asian nationalism, and to be equally opposed to imperialism and revolution. It seems to see no inconsistency, after having sown the seeds of "democratic" revolt in Asia, in taking its stand alongside conservative defenders of the *status quo.*

Thus, it is now the United States, not Japan, which warns against communism in Asia and views the existing Chinese regime as "a threat to American security." Where Japan strove to establish a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," we have tried to rebuild the Japanese military might and weld the "arc of free Asia," from South Korea to Turkey, into an anti-Communist league to "contain" revolution. The attempt has failed. Our "alliance" with Japan is not one between equals for a common political purpose, and lacks vitality. SEATO weakly acts the scarecrow in South Asia. In the Middle East, our touted "Northern Tier" is wracked by the violent forces of Arab nationalism. The Asians reject our cold-war concepts.

Friendly Carlos Romulo of the Philippines in 1955 reported an Asian criticism of us: "The Americans are so obfuscated by their hatred of communism they cannot think straight." Our Asia policy today has a strong admixture of blind passion compounded with a dangerous ignorance of Asian social forces; it is swayed by Machiavellian pressure groups. By it, we are obfuscated—and shackled.

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That ill-conceived policy places us in opposition to the main political currents of contemporary Asia. To stand pat in our present cold-war position would be to increase our isolation from the billion and a half Asians. In 1956, therefore, we face essentially the same dilemma that confronted Japan in 1931: shall we adjust ourselves to unpleasing political realities, or try to force our will upon a headstrong continent? Japan tried the way of force in 1931; its fate is a warning we cannot ignore. National interest dictates that we extricate ourselves from the *cul-de-sac* where we stand trapped. It is not a predominantly military policy, but one strong in political and economic elements, that holds the greatest promise of success for us in Asia today—even in contending with communism.

The Court's Vacancy

IF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER takes the advice of the American Bar Association, he will disregard party labels when he names a successor to Justice Sherman Minton. The A. B. A., at its recent convention in Dallas, unanimously urged the President to nominate to judicial office "only the best-qualified lawyers or judges available, without regard to their political affiliations." The association made its argument on a high moral level: the American system demands that the judiciary be as independent of the political parties as it is of the legislative and executive branches.

There is a practical argument to reenforce the A. B. A.'s moral one. The careers of several Justices indicate that party affiliation and political philosophy do not always offer reliable clues to their behavior on the bench. Minton is a classic example. As an official of Governor Paul V. McNutt's administration in Indiana, he became the nemesis of the utility interests. When he sat in the Senate, he was a fervent New Dealer who infuriated the Republicans by his support of President Roosevelt's plan to pack — or unpack — the Supreme Court. When he himself became a Justice, however, Minton made common cause with Justices Harold Burton and Stanley Reed, the most conservative members of the present Court. These three can be expected to turn up regularly on the conservative side of almost every controversy, with the notable exception of the school-segregation cases.

The importance of the President's selection of a replacement for Minton cannot be exaggerated. To begin with, it would be a disaster of major proportions if the new Justice were to shatter the united front the Warren Court has shown on segregation. In addition, there are several categories of cases in which the Court is so evenly divided that the vote of Minton's successor will be decisive. A Justice not as cavalier as Minton in approving summary deportations of aliens, for example, would join Warren, Black, Douglas and Frankfurter to give the Court a liberal majority in this area, where the situation until now has been dismal. If the new Justice is more diligent than Minton in helping to preserve the constitutional guarantee of a fair trial, the Court will again have five members who are scrupulously observant of the right of representation by counsel and of trial by a representative jury and an impartial judge. In "loyalty" cases, a liberal appointee would give the Court a stronger majority than it now has against the catch-all federal-employees security program, irresponsible Congressional committees and state forays into red-hunting. In all these fields, Minton has been on the conservative side. The appointment of a progressive Justice would thus mean that the frequent 5-4 decisions on such issues would now go the other way.

The A. B. A. hopes for the choice of someone with broad judicial experience. This suggestion would appear to be a posthumous slap at President Roosevelt, who is accused of having appointed men interested in politics above all things. Even if taken at face value, however, the association's proposal is devoid of merit. Exhibit A in demonstrating how little lower-court experience benefits a Justice is Minton himself, who had more prior time on the bench than any of his colleagues. Minton may have learned to don the judicial robe with greater dexterity than his brethren, but any other results of his judicial experience are not readily visible to the naked eye. His Supreme Court record, in fact, is so undistinguished that the New York *Times,* which tries hard to speak only good of the dead and the retired, had to admit that Minton cannot claim " . . . standing as one of the great creative jurists of our history." The Justice himself ruefully acknowledged: "There will be more interest in who will succeed me than in my passing." The plain truth is that, in spite of Minton's background, he has not written one notable opinion or dissent.

The President has expressed the opinion that while technical proficiency in the law is not a requisite for the office of Chief Justice, Associate Justices should be selected from the lower federal courts. But he should not limit his quest to this or any other single category. The person he seeks is as likely to be found in a law school, in active practice, in the Senate, or in a governor's office, as on the federal bench. Nor should the President limit his choice to any particular social category — Jewish, Catholic or Protestant, white or Negro —or to any geographical region. The qualities he seeks are not necessarily the by-products of any particular background or experience. Today more than ever before these qualities relate to character and insight rather than to technical competence *per se.* Justice Minton's successor, for example, should be a person of broad social outlook, aware of the need for

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social change and capable of examining any issue on the merits. Powerful pressure groups exist today to defend and advance almost every important interest; but there are too few individuals and organizations concerned with the rights of unpopular minorities or the need to safeguard the rights of the individual. Precisely because the weight and size of pressure groups — institutions, corporations, trade unions, government bureaus — are greater than ever before and likely to increase in magnitude, the Supreme Court has become the individual's last great shield in an age of power.

In spite of the Bar Association's stress on nonpartisanship, there is little likelihood that the President will name a Democrat to take Justice Minton's place although President Truman did cross party lines when he selected Justice Burton. However, there is reason to hope that the President's selection will be meritorious. His first Court appointee was Chief Justice Warren, who has been an able and distinguished presiding officer. Justice John Marshall Harlan has served only one full term — too short a time to justify a definite estimate — but the auguries are not unfavorable. His opinion condemning the Administration's extension of the loyalty program to employees in non-sensitive positions serves notice that he will at least not become as bleakly reactionary as three of Truman's appointees: Vinson, Burton and Minton. Indeed Mr. Truman's appointments tipped the balance of power to the conservatives in 1949. Now, however, Chief Justice Warren has replaced Vinson and, with Minton departing, the Court can only move to the liberal side if it is to move at all. It is ironic that a Republican President should be in a position to swing the balance back somewhat in favor of the liberals.

Courage in Action: I

PHILADELPHIA THEATRE

In June, Gale Sondergaard was engaged to play the role of the Dowager Empress in Anastasia *at the Playhouse in the Park in Philadelphia. Rehearsals were scheduled to begin on July 9 for a week of performances to commence July 16.*

At 1 A.M. on June 26, Miss Sondergaard was awakened by a telephone call from a reporter of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin. *He informed her that the American Legion and members of* AWARE, INC. *had protested her forthcoming appearance and were demanding the abrogation of her contract. Following is an account of subsequent developments told entirely through extracts of newspaper stories published in the Philadelphia press.*

THE INQUIRER, June 26

Legion Requests Park Playhouse Ban on Actress

The American Legion asked the Fairmount Park Commission yesterday to cancel actress Gale Sondergaard's mid-July appearance at the city-owned Playhouse in the Park on the ground that she is a Communist.

It would be "insulting" to the public if the city "in any manner subsidizes subversives," said Martin R. Fountain, judge advocate of the Legion's Philadelphia County Council, in a letter asking City Representative Frederic R. Mann to bring the matter to the attention of the Fairmount Park Commission's advisory committee.

. . . Mann said, "If we find she is the type of person who shouldn't be employed here we will be glad to say so. However, in the absence of such facts, we will operate under the American tradition of fair play."

* * *

DAILY NEWS, June 26

Kelly, Mann Asked to Probe

A Germantown woman, active in independent Republican circles, has asked John B. Kelly, vice-chairman of the Fairmount Park Commission, to investigate the alleged use of "Communist sympathizers" at the Playhouse in the Park.

. . . Mrs Meyers singled out four actors and a director in her charges. She said she is a member of AWARE, Inc., of New York. . . .

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, June 26

Actress Says She'll Appear Here Despite Legion Threat

. . . "Obviously I will appear," [Miss Sondergaard] declared when reached by telephone in Los Angeles. . . . Miss Sondergaard said that she is a member of Actors' Equity in good standing.

"I have a contract to appear at the Playhouse and I am coming to act in the Playhouse and I am happy to do so. That is all."

Questioned about present affiliations, she declared that she had invoked the Fifth Amendment in 1951 . . . and would stand on that now.

. . . Miss Sondergaard, wife of movie director Herbert Biberman, who served a jail term for refusing to answer questions about Communist affiliations in 1947, invoked the Fifth Amendment at a meeting of the House Committee in 1951.

* * *

THE INQUIRER, June 27

Playhouse Investigates Actor Loyalty

The managing director [of the Playhouse in the Park], Samuel M. Handelsman, was instructed to see whether Actors' Equity had given its loyalty approval to Miss Sondergaard. . . .

"I have great respect for the American Legion and pay full attention to any charges they make," [City Representative] Mann said late yesterday, "especially when city funds are involved. I can't take any other course than to pursue an investigation. I've contacted the federal agencies, I've con-

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tacted the Civil Liberties Union and I've asked the intelligence unit of the Philadelphia police to look into the matter on a confidential basis.

"We want to do the right thing. . . . The birthplace of the Bill of Rights is no place for something like this to go on."

* * *

DAILY NEWS, June 27

State Chief Cautions Legion In Actress Picket Threat

The state commander of the American Legion asked the Philadelphia County Council to be sure of its facts before it pickets the appearance of actress Gale Sondergaard at the Playhouse in the Park.

John F. Stay, of Philadelphia, the state commander, who attended last night's meeting as a member of the county council, said the state department would go along with the county, "but only after a complete and proper investigation." . . . But Earl Wilson, public relations director for the county council, said he was sure the executive committee would order the picket line thrown up if the actress appeared.

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, June 28

Solicitor Asked To Decide On Miss Sondergaard Role

City Solicitor David Berger began a study of the actress' loyalty background and of contractual obligations of the city connected with her planned appearance here in *Anastasia.* . . . One of the items which the solicitor will study is a clause in the Actors' Equity contract in which the Playhouse and Equity "both pledge themselves to prevent blacklisting in the [summer] stock field. . . ."

"Blacklisting" is here identified as the "submission by the manager directly or indirectly to individual or group pressures . . . for reasons having no direct relation to [an actor's] theatrical ability."

Samuel M. Handelsman, managing director of the Playhouse, said last night that when he hired Miss Sondergaard [her] . . . controversial background "had been erased from my memory." He said that if he had recalled her appearance before the House Committee, "I would very likely have inquired about it before hiring her . . . in order to avoid the controversy and trouble that has arisen."

As it was, he said, he only considered himself "very lucky" to get her for the part and only "remembered her well as an actress."

* * *

DAILY NEWS, June 29

Gale Rumbles Reaching Hurricane Force in City

. . . The Philadelphia chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars spoke its piece through A. James Golota, county commander. He disagreed with the [American] Legion: "It should be up to the loyal patrons of the theatre to freely decide for themselves whether they want to see Miss Sondergaard perform." Still another salvo came during Steve Allison's show on Radio Station WPEN. In all, four guests debated the lively issue.

One was Henry W. Sawyer, 3d, city councilman-at-large. . . . Said Sawyer, "There should be no official action banning Miss Sondergaard. Her political beliefs have nothing to do with the job she has been hired to perform. If she has broken the law of the land let her be prosecuted by the proper authorities; if not let the show go on.

"If she is barred," he added, "the city henceforth will be in the position of having to guarantee the political purity not only of every actor at the Playhouse, but of every musician who plays at Robin Hood Dell and the artists whose pictures are hung in the Art Museum."

* * *

DAILY NEWS, June 29

Walter Rebuffs Legion In Ban on Park Actress

It is up to the theatre-going public and not the American Legion if it wants to see Gale Sondergaard act at the Playhouse in the Park.

This is the opinion of Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

He said he does not believe "any self-constituted judge or jury should set itself up to decide that a performer should not appear in a role for which he or she has contracted."

* * *

THE INQUIRER, June 29

VFW Officials Split on Gale

"The same rule of ethics applying to the employment of other Fairmount Park employees must be applied to Gale Sondergaard," said John Capitola, member of the executive board of the Veterans of Foreign Wars county council.

"She has been a repetitive Fifth Amendment pleader on subversive association," he said. "We don't need her here. We don't want her. We feel the theatre-going public in Philadelphia will feel the same way."

Capitola's statement was in contrast to that of A. James Golota, V.F.W. County Commander. . . .

* * *

THE INQUIRER, June 30

Vets Warn Park Theatre Faces Pickets

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 1

Vets Plan All-Out Fight To Bar Gale at Playhouse

The United Veterans Council called for immediate cancellation of Miss Sondergaard's contract with the Playhouse in the Park.

Cyril M. Mahalik, chairman of the council, and county commander of Catholic War Veterans, urged that any performers hired by the managing director of the Playhouse for any future productions "should be carefully investigated to avoid such incidents as this."

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 4

Park Board Advised to Keep Gale Sondergaard Contract

City Solicitor David Berger ruled today that there is no legal justification for the Fairmount Park Commission to break its contract with actress Gale Sondergaard.

To do so, he held, in a formal opinion, would amount to "blacklisting" and subject the commission to "financial liability" and perhaps jeopardize the continued operation of Playhouse in the Park.

* * *

DAILY NEWS, July 5

Legion, VFW to Vote on Playhouse Picket

Joseph A. Ruczynski, Legion county commander, told the Philadelphia *Daily News,* "I object to picketing, but I am in no way trying to lead the committee."

A. James Golota, V.F.W. commander, said he will "oppose such action."

A report, submitted to Ruczynski by Walter A. Alessandroni, chairman of the Legion council's advisory board, also ruled out picketing. The report says Legion members must realize the law

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THE WEATHER
U. S. Weather Bureau Forecast
Philadelphia and vicinity: Mostly sunny with moderate temperatures and low humidity today. Tomorrow, fair with little change in temperature. High today 80. Low tonight 65. Northerly winds 10 to 15 miles per hour today.
COMPLETE WEATHER DATA ON PAGE 26

The Philadelphia Inquirer
PUBLIC LEDGER
An Independent Newspaper for All the People

FINAL
CITY EDITION

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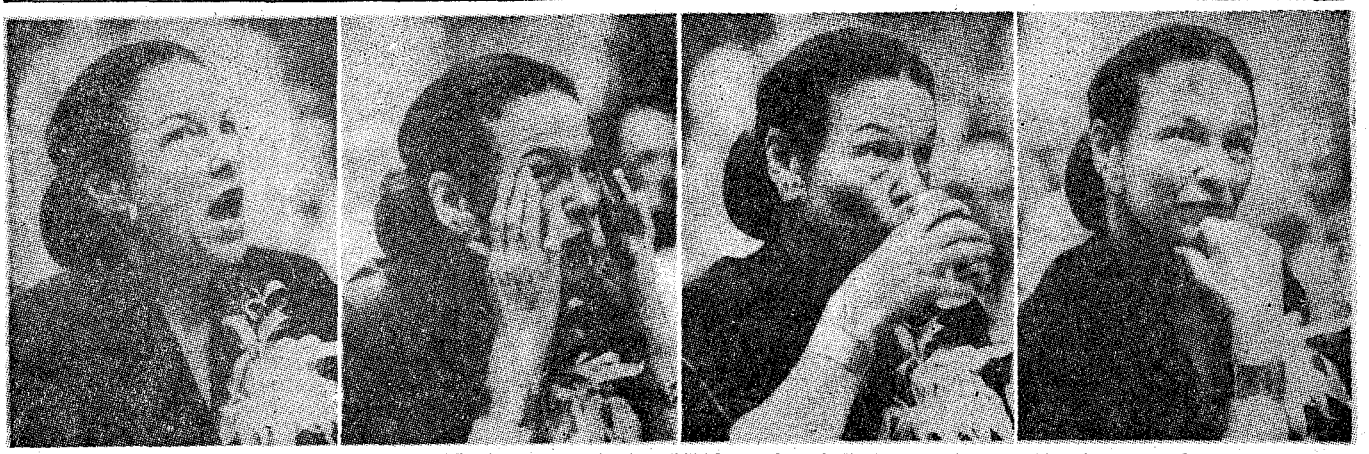

GALE SONDERGAARD AS SHE APPEARED YESTERDAY TESTIFYING BEFORE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Gale Again Invokes 'Fifth' at Probe Here, Is Silent on Red Ties

By FRANK H. WEIR

Actress Gale Sondergaard again invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment yesterday in refusing to tell a Congressional committee whether she was a member of the Communist Party [illegible] before a House

sometimes permits what honor would forbid.

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 5

Legion Drops Plan To Picket Gale

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 6

Gale Faces 'Unofficial' Picketing

County officials of both the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars agreed last night there would be no "official" picketing of the Playhouse in the Park on July 16 to protest the appearance there of actress Gale Sondergaard.

The Legion and V.F.W. leaders issued statements to their members that "individual picketing is your prerogative."

* * *

DAILY NEWS, July 6

Playhouse Chief's Ouster Urged

The Veterans of Foreign Wars will ask for the resignation of Samuel M. Handelsman, managing director of Playhouse in the Park.

Handelsman has been under fire from the V.F.W. and American Legion for negligence in the hiring of Gale Sondergaard to appear at the city-managed tent show.

* * *

DAILY NEWS, July 9

Gale's 'Show To Go On' Here

"Let the show go on."

That was the comment of City Representative Frederic Mann in the Gale Sondergaard row.

Mann also rejected a V.F.W. resolution calling for the firing of Samuel M. Handelsman, Playhouse managing director. Handelsman hired Miss Sondergaard.

. . . The V.F.W.'s Department of Pennsylvania opens its thirty-seventh annual encampment here Thursday for three days. The Pennsylvania American Legion meets here July 19-21, the week of Miss Sondergaard's performances.

* * *

DAILY NEWS, July 9

Let The Show Go On
(Editorial)

It looks to us like the controversy over the Playhouse in the Park is headed toward a sensible solution.

The City Solicitor has ruled that a contract is a contract and that Gale Sondergaard, an actress accused of connection with pro-Communist groups, is legally entitled to appear in the play *Anastasia* beginning July 16.

The American Legion talks about picketing, as it has a right to do. The people have a right to attend—or not to attend.

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 9

Walter to Call Show People in Probe Here into Blacklist

Several theatrical people appearing this summer at the city's Playhouse in the Park will be called to testify by the House Committee on Un-American Activities here next week. . . . [Representative] Walter would not disclose the names of those to be called.

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 9

Actress Starts Rehearsals Here

Ignoring threats of picketing because of what the American Legion called her "subversive and conspiratorial activities" [Miss Sondergaard] took her place at the opening of rehearsals in an open pavilion adjacent to the play tent.

"I shall be glad," she said, "to talk about the play and about the theatre in general. But about nothing else."

* * *

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DAILY NEWS, July 10

Gale Outlasts Storm

Academy Award winner Gale Sondergaard will make her first appearance in the Playhouse in the Park next Monday, as scheduled. . . . The storm that surrounded her has dwindled to an ineffectual breeze.

. . . The furor left her unruffled.

Threats of pickets didn't bother her either.

"If the American Legion—or any other group—wants to picket the theatre and the law says it can, let it do so. I shall be inside playing the role the best way I know how."

Miss Sondergaard was not bitter about her reception in the City of Brotherly Love.

"I commend the people of Philadelphia and the Park Commission for standing with me. It may be one of the ironies of history that in the Cradle of Liberty this should happen. By 'this' I mean the opposition by a small segment of the population and the determination of the majority to see a play."

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 13

Probers to Quiz Blacklist Victims

. . . "We want to ask them where and when they were blacklisted," said Representative Francis E. Walter (D. Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. "Subpoenas are out for some of them right now."

Walter said one of those to be questioned in Philadelphia is actress Gale Sondergaard.

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 17

Pickets Fail to Appear at Gale's Performance in Park

The curtain rose at the Playhouse in the Park production of *Anastasia* last night without any evidence of the disturbance which had been feared because of the appearance on stage of Gale Sondergaard, actress accused of Communist associations. . . . Sales were conducted so briskly that at opening hour only sixty tickets remained unsold. The capacity of the Fairmount Park-operated theatre is 1150. . . .

[Miss Sondergaard] was greeted by a round of applause comparable to that given other leading members of the cast but received a longer ovation just before the end of the act.

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 17

Crowd in Park For 'Anastasia'

. . . The second-act climax at the Playhouse last night, in which Signe Hasso, playing an alleged surviving daughter of Tzar Nicholas, confronts a skeptical Dowager Empress played by Gale Sondergaard, won the same sort of ovation received by Viveca Lindfors and Eugenie Leontovich when the play opened originally at the Walnut in 1954.

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 17

No Picketing at Playhouse In the Park

. . . The show started and continued as scheduled before what Playhouse assistant treasurer Nate Abrahams described as "the best Monday night of the year."

. . . When [Miss Sondergaard] made her dramatic exit just prior to the close of the second act, the audience applauded with vigor. The applause, according to stage observers, was accorded her on the basis of her performance in the highly-charged act.

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 17

Gale Sondergaard Invokes Fifth Amendment At Hearing

Actress Gale Sondergaard, who is appearing at the Playhouse in the Park, again invoked the Fifth Amendment when she was called before a House Un-American Activities Committee group here today.

. . . Miss Sondergaard's counsel at the hearing was Thomas D. McBride, widely known Philadelphia lawyer and chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association.

. . . After her testimony, which was given in firm, clear tones and without any hubbub, she issued the following statement:

"As an actress, I am in Philadelphia to create a role and earn my living. For the committee to recall me here at this specific time while I am deeply involved in a creative work which requires the greatest amount of concentration and freedom from distraction can only be construed as an act of harassment. My request for postponement to a later date was denied by the committee. . . .

"Since my appearance before the committee in 1951, I have not been employed by the motion-picture industry. To my mind this has not been accidental. I think rather that it may be construed as blacklisting.

"I believe in the right of the artist to create his art, regardless of the political climate of the moment, and the right of the American people to participate in this creation if they so desire.

"I have a deep and abiding loyalty to and love of these United States where I was born."

* * *

THE INQUIRER, July 18

Gale Again Invokes 'Fifth' At Probe Here, Is Silent on Red Ties

. . . Addressing her as "ma'am," [committee counsel] Arens asked [Miss Sondergaard] to give a thumbnail sketch of her childhood and her career.

. . . "I played one-night stands, joined a Shakespearean company, then a stock company in Detroit," she said. "Later I joined the Theatre Guild in New York and appeared in many Broadway productions.

"I had leading roles in about forty motion pictures and won an Academy Award for my role in *Anthony Adverse* and won a nomination for an award for another role."

Arens then referred to a controversial report on the blacklisting of figures in the entertainment world, published recently by the Fund for the Republic. He read:

"Gale Sondergaard, wife of Herbert Biberman of the Hollywood Ten, found herself suddenly unemployable after her husband refused to testify."

"On the basis of this report, is it a fact," he asked, "that following your husband's appearance before the committee your theatrical activities were minimized?"

"I would say that was very definitely correct, so far as motion pictures was concerned," she replied.

"Because your husband refused to testify?" Arens asked.

"It would be my opinion that was the reason I was not employed."

After 1951, she said, she felt she had been blacklisted because of her own refusal. . . .

When, however, she was questioned about membership in such groups as the Motion Picture Artists Committee or the League of Women Shoppers, she took refuge in the Fifth Amendment.

"Do you honestly believe that you would incriminate yourself if you answered that question?"

"I once saw a book with a long list of organizations called subversive by the Attorney General," she answered. "I believe I must protect myself."

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"May I point out," Miss Sondergaard said, "that all these questions and all this information you already have in your records. I do not understand why I have been called here today, when I am in the middle of creative work, one of the first I have had in five years. I have stated publicly before that my position is unchanged and you could save a great deal of your time. . . ."

* * *

THE EVENING BULLETIN, July 18

Gale Declines Chance To Speak to Legion

The Pennsylvania American Legion today invited Gale Sondergaard to address its annual convention, but the actress declined on the ground of overwork. . . .

The invitation to address any session of the three-day Legion meeting at Convention Hall came from John F. Stay of Philadelphia, state commander. He said it was in line with "the American tradition of fair play."

Miss Sondergaard said in a statement through managing director Samuel M. Handelsman of the Playhouse that she had been working "much too hard," was playing a "very arduous role" and "therefore must respectfully decline" Stay's invitation.

* * *

VARIETY (New York, July 24)

Unpicketed 'Anastasia' Gets Fast 14G, Philly; Sondergaard Gets Salvo

Anastasia, turned into a controversial piece because of the agitation over Gale Sondergaard, one of its stars, grossed a fine $14,000 last week, best biz of this season at the Playhouse in the Park. The week's engagement passed without a sign of demonstration against the actress.

Although both the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars had, previous to the play's opening, decided against any formal picketing, which they had at first threatened, there was some expectation of heckling or disturbances on the part of individuals, especially as there was a state convention of Legionnaires in town half the week. Instead, from opening night on, Miss Sondergaard was greeted by strong applause at her initial entrance. She also shared with co-star Signe Hasso what amounted to ovations at the end of the show.

Courage in Action: II

A FARM IN GEORGIA

[In 1942 a group of devout Christians established a utopian farming community in Georgia, about a hundred miles south of Atlanta, which they called Koinonia (after the Greek word meaning "a community" or "fellowship"). The community sought to recapture the spirit and life of the early Christians: all property is held in common and the income from farm products—chiefly eggs—is shared according to members' needs. Though situated in the heart of the deep South, Koinonia is interracial. It has sought, through good-neighborliness, various philanthropic activities and a complete devotion to Christian ethics to establish itself as a spiritual center of the region—with results which are recounted in the following communication, signed by "all of us at Koinonia," which reached the office of The Nation.*—Editors.]*

Koinonia Farm, Georgia

FOR FOURTEEN years Koinonia has sought to maintain a witness to Christian brotherhood in a powder-keg situation. There have been many ups and downs and difficult situations, but sooner or later things eased off. About four months ago Clarence Jordan of Koinonia was asked to sign applications of two Negro students for enrolling in the Georgia Business College (white). (The applications required the signatures of two alumni of the university system, and Clarence is an alumnus of the University of Georgia.) Accompanied by Harry Atkinson from Koinonia, Clarence went to Atlanta to interview the students and to talk with professors at Morehouse College and other interested persons. He found that the students were not seeking to make a test case, but actually wanted the training which they could not get anywhere else in Atlanta. Clarence and Harry then suggested to the students that instead of getting in line, as they had planned, with the white students and seeking to register, they should first talk the matter over with the president of the college and see if he could make some suggestions as to how they might get the same or equal courses. To this they agreed, so Clarence made an appointment with President Sparks for the next morning. Dr. Sam Williams, professor of Philosophy at Morehouse, and the Reverend James Waldon, pastor of Oak Grove Methodist Church in Atlanta, and also an alumnus of the University of Georgia, went with Clarence and the students to talk with the president.

The group was received very graciously and found the president sympathetic. He called in the registrar to see if something could be done about enrolling the students, but the registrar said that the applications must be signed by two alumni of the college, not merely of the university. (Up to this point, Clarence had not signed the applications and because he now was disqualified, he never did sign them, though the newspapers reported his doing so.) President Sparks seemed to sense that the signature requirement was a technical dodge, and suggested that we pursue the matter further by taking it up with the executive secretary of the Board of Regents. He then called the secretary and made an immediate appointment for us.

Here again we were very kindly received. But the secretary told us it was a big problem, and asked that we give him a few days to think it over. This was agreed upon, and he thanked us very profusely for the Christian spirit in which we had come. He was well aware that he

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could have had a situation on his hands similar to that when Miss Lucy sought enrollment at the University of Alabama.

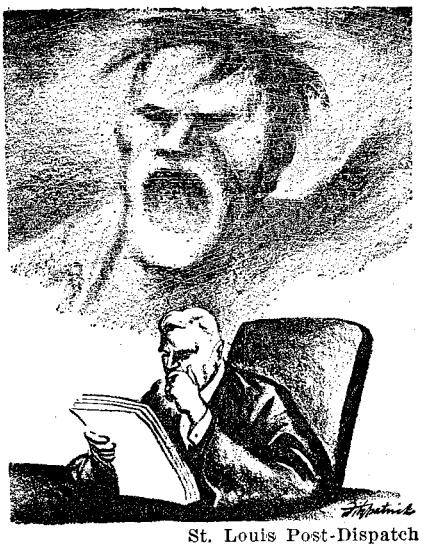
Harry and Clarence then returned to Americus, to find that Governor Griffin had already called up the sheriff down here to find out about "this Jordan fellow" and what he was up to. The Americus *Times-Recorder* had headlines to the effect that an Americus man, resident of Koinonia Farm, had signed applications of Negroes to Georgia Business College. This got everybody a little bit excited. Clarence began receiving threatening anonymous phone calls.

A few days later, the first insurance cancellation came through. Later all insurance was cancelled. Retail merchants, who had been handling our eggs for years, began dropping us. Practically all of our attractive, hand-made highway signs, advertising our Roadside Market, were pulled up and broken. We fixed them and put them back up. They were pulled down again. We put them back up. This continued until last week when they not only took them up but hauled them off. So temporarily, they've won.

Pistol shots were fired into the Roadside Market, located on U. S. 19, about four miles from the main farm. Shots were also fired into the community. No one has been hit.

FOR A number of years Koinonia has conducted each summer a Vacation Bible School which was attended largely by Negro children. Last year it was decided to try something more intensive, so a summer camp for children eight to twelve years old was held. Though the facilities were quite inadequate, the camp was very successful, with about thirty children of both races attending.

This year we spent several thousand dollars expanding and improving the facilities. The camp was booked to capacity with an enrollment of thirty-six. Then on June 9, a few days before camp was to open, we were served with a court injunction restraining us from having the camp. The injunction was brought by the county health department on "health and sanitation" grounds. A hearing was set for July 2.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Which Kind of Supremacy?

Meanwhile the county health engineer made a complete inspection of both the camp and the farm. He did not find such violations as the injunction charged, and made only minor recommendations, which we immediately carried out.

At the July 2 hearing there were obviously no grounds for the continuation of the injunction, but the county attorney asked that the hearing be postponed until July 19 because he "had not had time to prepare the case." In the meantime, the camp had been transferred to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee.

Before the July 19 hearing, we were served with another petition signed by four citizens who asked the court that they be allowed to join the county in prosecuting the case because the camp would be "a detriment to the morals of the children." These citizens employed a powerful Americus law firm to represent them.

On July 19 we appeared in court with no lawyer (we had been unable to secure local counsel). The court room was packed. The judge looked over the situation and decided that it would be a "wrangle between the Gospel and the law" (his words). He therefore ordered another postponement and told both sides to argue their case by "brief and affidavit." The date set for getting this material to him was September 20. By then the summer would be over and the purpose of the injunction accomplished, no matter who wins.

We would be quite willing to drop it there, but the county attorney says he thinks the injunction applies to Koinonia's open-door policy of having anyone visit us at any time. Because this involves a deep principle—the right of free citizens to have guests in their homes—we have decided to employ a lawyer to help us fight this through. A well-known, courageous Atlanta attorney has agreed to come to our aid. We are confident the case can be won.

On July 23 our Roadside Market was dynamited, about which we have already written.

An airplane company recently refused to dust our cotton for boll-weevil when they discovered that it was on "that farm."

A local fertilizer company informed us that they would not sell to us.

The auto dealer, with whom we've done business over the years and who did practically all our repair work, said he wanted our business no longer.

Several days ago the State Farm Insurance Company cancelled all of our auto insurance (six policies covering liability, collision, fire, theft, etc.). Meanwhile, an Atlanta insurance firm is seeking to keep our property covered and will help us get auto insurance.

A number of local ministers and leading laymen have come to us "by night" and assured us of their loving concern. In one church, after a Sunday School lesson on the persecution of early Christians, a motion was made to take up an offering to help Koinonia repair its dynamited market. This too, caused an explosion.

MANY local ministers and people have gone out of their way to be friendly and to let us know that though they may not be able to agree with us, neither can they agree with the methods being used against us. The local newspaper has been surprisingly neutral and impartial. The situation is by no means all darkness. The Gospel is lying heavily upon the hearts of many people in this county. We believe that in time they will respond and join with a mighty "Thus said the LORD." Victory may be closer than we think.

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BRITISH LABOR'S HOPES

Gaitskell's Management . . by R. T. McKENZIE

London

PREPARING for its annual conference next month, the British Labor Party is showing signs of renewed health and vitality for the first time since the party went into opposition in 1951. As late as the general election of May, 1955, it was clear that Labor was still very sick; it fought feebly and lost a number of seats to the Conservatives. The latter, after consulting the history books, proclaimed themselves, accurately enough, to be the first *party* since 1841 to enhance their parliamentary strength in three successive elections and the first *government* in ninety years to increase its majority at the end of its term in office.

It must be remembered that the Conservatives won their vote of confidence from an electorate 65 to 70 per cent of whom are, by any objective definition, members of the working class. In view of the social composition of this electorate, the mystery of British politics is not that a party calling itself "Labor" managed once in its fifty-year history (in 1945) to win a working parliamentary majority; it is that the Labor Party has never yet (not even in 1945) won half the votes cast at a general election. The record, compared with that of similar Socialist parties in Scandinavia, is dismal.

Whatever the long-run explanation of Labor's comparative failure as a political force, there could be little doubt of the immediate cause of the party's *malaise* during the years 1951-1955. The over-riding factor was the success of the Conservative government which held office in those years. In defiance of Socialist predictions made during the election of 1951, the Tories maintained both the welfare state and full employment; simultaneously they dismantled some of the more irksome forms of physical controls, of which from the electoral point of view the abolition of food rationing was the most important. Inequality between the social classes no doubt increased slightly under the Conservatives; but against the background of a modestly rising standard of living in which they shared, the working classes were undisturbed. At least a third of them (and probably as large a proportion as 50 per cent of working-class wives) voted Conservative in 1955.

In addition to this "external" factor, Labor suffered from acute "internal" difficulties. It had become clear after 1951 that Clement Attlee's remarkable span of leadership must soon come to an end (he had led Labor longer than anyone has led a British party since Gladstone); consequently a bitter struggle for the succession ensued.

This became entwined with another acute domestic problem: Labor had returned to the opposition in 1951 physically and intellectually exhausted. Most of its leaders had held office continuously since 1940. They had had neither the time, nor, it sometimes seemed, the inclination to re-examine and to refurbish their Socialist doctrines. As a result Labor's social program in the election of 1951 looked thin and barren; this was not in itself a discreditable state of affairs since it arose largely from the party's own success in implementing its program.

The main rivals for the succession to Attlee were Hugh Gaitskell (the

Gaitskell as seen by Vicky of The New Statesman (*London*).

R. T. McKENZIE, noted British political commentator, is the author of British Political Parties.

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protégé of the unions and in a sense of Attlee himself), and the militant left-winger Aneurin Bevan. Mainly through the initiative of the latter, who espoused a vague but vehement brand of Socialist fundamentalism, the struggle for the leadership took the form of a bitter Left versus Right argument.

This issue was still unresolved when Labor entered the campaign of May, 1955. Thus Labor presented the spectacle of a party rent by fratricidal conflict and apparently ill-prepared to form a government. In addition, the party's electoral machinery was in a sad state of disrepair. It had not been seriously overhauled in the thirty-seven years since Labor adopted its modern constitution in 1918. Merely as a vote-gathering organization, the party was no match for its Conservative rivals, who had entrusted the task of rebuilding their own machine (after their great defeat in 1945) to Lord Woolton, probably the ablest party manager in the history of British politics. Traditionally, Labor had attempted to match Tory professional skill with the aid of an army of enthusiastic amateurs. But in the election of 1955 (and probably in that of 1951) the Tories had, in most constituencies, both a superior professional machine and a larger force of voluntary party workers. With the political temperature low (just as it is in the United States in the autumn of 1956) the Conservative vote fell by 500,000; but that of the Labor Party fell by 1,500,000.

IN THE humiliation of defeat, Labor turned at last, in the summer of 1955, to deal with its three basic problems: leadership, policy and organization. Striking headway has been made in dealing with each and the party's political prospects have greatly improved.

Hugh Dalton, a member of Labor's old guard who had served on the party's front bench for thirty years, deserves credit for a bold effort to break the log-jam over leadership. Although not yet seventy, he announced that he would not stand for re-election to the executive of the parliamentary party. This was a blow at the principle of gerontocracy which across the years had won subtle acceptance within the Labor Party. Others in the same age bracket were stimulated or shamed by Dalton's example into following him onto the back benches; they were succeeded by an able group of younger men, many of whom had become discouraged by the ever-lengthening prospect of "apprenticeship."

Attlee, who shared Dalton's view on the need for new blood, attempted soon after the election of 1955 to resign the party leadership. But his supporters urged him to continue; the loudest voices were of those who were determined to block Gaitskell, the alleged right-wing menace, at all costs. They hoped that, given time, Aneurin Bevan might still overcome his arch-rival. But Attlee became impatient when he realized that internecine party conflict was being renewed as furiously as before. With characteristic abruptness, he quit the party leadership last December.

Forced at last to make up its mind, the Parliamentary Labor Party chose Hugh Gaitskell over Aneurin Bevan and Herbert Morrison by the largest majority ever accorded a newly elected Labor leader. Gaitskell has had only seven months in office and it is obviously too early to assess his merits. His critics insist that he has already shown faulty political judgment in his choice of issues on which to fight the government; they argue, too, that his rather prim, didactic manner will never inspire either the party or the country. But the credit side of the balance sheet is considerably more impressive. Gaitskell has reorganized the work of the parliamentary party and it is now probably a more efficient parliamentary force than it has ever been before in opposition.

Gaitskell has also tried hard to heal the gaping "Bevanite" wound which has so weakened the party in the five years since the resignation of Aneurin Bevan and two other ministers in April, 1951. Harold Wilson and R. H. S. Crossman, probably Bevan's ablest supporters, have been brought high into the councils of the party; Bevan himself has been made "shadow" Colonial Secretary and thus given an opportunity to understudy a role he has long insisted he would like to play in a future Labor Government. Bevan has not tried to hide the fact that he is also continuing to understudy the role of party leader. But Gaitskell has wisely refused to join personally in current right-wing efforts to frustrate Bevan's campaign to win election at the party's conference next month to the office of party treasurer.

Gaitskell has also taken a far more active part than Attlee ever did in the task of revising party policy. It was decided at last year's conference to produce, in the course of the next three years, a series of ten policy documents restating Labor's position on the main domestic and foreign issues facing the country. Three statements, dealing respectively with personal freedom, housing and "equality" have so far appeared and Gaitskell has personally published a pamphlet (through the Fabian Society) giving his own views on the relationship of nationalization to socialism.

GAITSKELL is trying to win the party away from the goal (to which it is still formally committed by its constitution) of "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." He insists that Labor's aims are, in his own words: (1) "Social equality, which to us is substantially the same as social justice"; (2) "Economic security or full employment"; (3) "Industrial democracy, by which is meant a change of atmosphere and relationships in industry which will give to the workers a better status, more power, more responsibility and a true sense of participation." [For a more extended analysis of the Labor Party policy pamphlets, see David Thomson's article which follows.]

The new leader's main concern is that Labor should launch a frontal attack on the British class system, which still provides rigid barriers against full social mobility. He proposes major changes in the nation's educational system (to be elaborated in a forthcoming policy statement) and drastic revisions in taxation

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policy designed to break up the huge concentrations of private wealth.

Bevan and others on the Left argue that this represents an evasion of the main issue, which remains for them the ownership of the means of production. But Gaitskell replies, in a much quoted phrase, that "Socialism is about equality." It seems likely that Gaitskell will carry the day, so far as the battle within the party is concerned, although it is far less certain that Labor's new egalitarian program will prove electorally attractive.

Gaitskell has also teamed up with the ex-Bevanite Harold Wilson in a campaign for a wholesale reorganization of Labor's electoral machinery. Last summer a four-man committee on party organization was set up under Wilson. In a forceful report it revealed that, at the constituency level, Labor was an aging, dispirited and inefficient party and they made sweeping recommendations designed to improve the situation. Gaitskell has given the Wilson committee full backing and many of its recommendations have now been adopted; he has also obtained promises from the unions that they will contribute on a considerably larger scale to the party's coffers.

In several recent by-elections, Labor's share of the votes cast has shown a sizable increase. This is no doubt due in part to the party's success in presenting a more coherent front to the electorate and to the improvement in the party's electoral machinery. But it is probably due in even larger measure to what may prove to be only a temporary unpopularity of the Eden government. The present Tory leaders are an able and enlightened crew. *If* they can conquer the twin problems of inflation and the balance of payments, *if* they can make appreciable headway toward their declared goal of "doubling the British standard of living in twenty-five years," *if* they can do all this without dismantling the welfare state or drastically increasing the economic gulf between the classes, then they will be no easy party to unseat in the elections of 1959 or 1960. Labor will have to fight hard for its next election victory. And it is no doubt preferable for all concerned that it should have to do so.

Socialism in Evolution . . by DAVID THOMSON

London

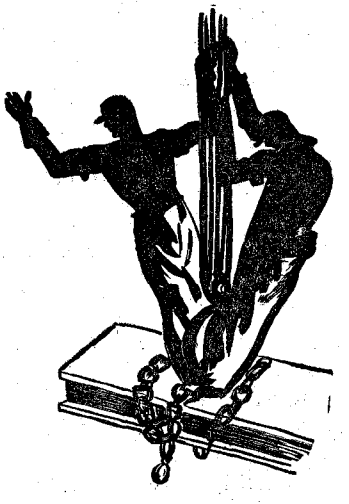
HUGH GAITSKELL'S pamphlet, *Socialism and Nationalization,* was mostly written three years ago, but its publication now is all the more significant. The leader of the British Labor Party here expresses, discreetly but unmistakably, disillusionment with the results of nationalization:

> There have been genuine drawbacks and difficulties in nationalization which must be recognized. . . . It may be regrettable, but it seems to be a fact that people's enthusiasm about almost any groups to which they belong is enhanced by competition. . . . Nationalization should try to harness and not to ignore or suppress these natural characteristics. . . . The case for nationalization is weakest where there are a very large number of small firms competing with each other, where there is a strong speculative element in the business, where personal contacts and knowledge count for a lot and where there are no very obvious advantages of large-scale production.

Gaitskell's major political conclusion is that "the British electorate will not be impressed with proposals to extend nationalization into new and unknown fields unless there is a simple and clear-cut case for them." It is not that he rules out further possible nationalization, though he remains vague about which industries he regards as most eligible for it:

> Such industries will include those where monopoly flourishes, and those where competition clearly involves serious waste, and a grouping together will bring with it economies in production or marketing.

Of the official statements from Transport House, one on Labor's colonial policy called *The Plural Society* is but the first of several on colonial affairs. Much more likely to influence the electorate as a whole is the statement of housing policy called *Homes of the Future.* It postulates that "private landlordism has failed to provide the majority of our people with the houses of the standard they deserve," and goes into considerable detail about how it is proposed that "private ownership of rent-controlled tenanted houses should be replaced by public ownership." The aim is to make the provision of houses and flats "a social service as in the case of education, health and welfare." Here is a bolder and more far-reaching conception than mere extension of nationalization. And there is more than an echo of traditional Fabian Society principles in the proposal that this new social service should be provided mainly by local authorities. It would mean the taking over, with "fair compensation" to the owners, of six million rent-controlled houses and apartments; their systematic renovation and repair; and their replacement, where renovation is impossible, by new locally owned properties to meet the needs of the population. At the same time "owner-occupation" would be encouraged in every way, and here too, local authorities would be empowered to



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offer mortgages of 100 per cent of the value of the property. Since the Conservatives took office in 1951, there have been fairly steady increases in the rates of interest from the Public Works Loan Board up to last March; and the present "credit squeeze," which has encouraged building societies to raise the rates of interest payable on mortgages, has made it increasingly difficult for people to buy homes.

Housing in Britain, as in many European countries, has remained bad since the war. The 1951 census showed that seven million households had no fixed bath, three million were forced to share (or were without) a water closet. Nearly one million houses have been scheduled as unfit for habitation, and at least 750,000 households share when they would prefer and should have separate accommodations. The existing powers of local authorities as regards housing are extensive, and some cities, such as Birmingham, have already led the way in repairing condemned houses for temporary inhabitance, in slum-clearance and in the erection of council houses. The Socialist program for housing has the qualities of urgency, realism and adaptation to existing practice which should make it a powerful plank in the party's next electoral platform.

WHAT IS so strange about the present phase of theorizing is that the thoughtful outline of colonial policy and this highly realistic housing program are accompanied by two pamphlets which embark upon somewhat abstract political matters. They are entitled *Personal Freedom* and *Towards Equality*. Despite a few telling concrete applications of these abstract ideals to immediate social problems, there is a remarkable hiatus between Gaitskell's cautious empiricism or the traditional Fabianism of the housing program, and these much more doctrinaire pronouncements. Here, it seems, there blows into the committee rooms of Transport House a strong breeze from the direction of the Socialist Union and the free-lance intellectuals. "Rights mean duties. No one who benefits from the Welfare State, from full employment or from better education, can contract out of the social obligations which must support these reforms" (shades of Locke and T. H. Green). "The right to property always carries with it the responsibility to use and develop it in the interests of the community" (echoes of R. H. Tawney and the Fabians). "Our Socialist view is that freedom and equality are inseparable. If freedom with gross inequalities is hardly worth having, 'equality' without freedom is worthless" (somebody has been reading Rousseau). "We take it as self-evident that our society will be happier and healthier without social classes than it is with them." If only the problems of political thinking were as simple as this, and lent themselves so easily to such dogmatic statements, how straightforward the tasks of government would be: send everyone to the

London School of Economics, and the job would do itself.

In fairness to these two pamphlets, it must be added that each tries to relate its aphoristic title to concrete problems of modern Britain: to the problems of delegated legislation and control of bureaucratic power, to civil liberties and protection of the citizen, to overhaul of the educational and fiscal systems. But these exercises in political science show a circumspect tenderness in approaching the power and activities of trade unions. The inhibitions imposed on Socialist theory in Britain by the alliance between the Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Labor Party become a little too apparent to carry conviction. How do these principles of personal freedom and equality affect the ethics of strikes in the Welfare State? Is the closed shop legitimate? Is it proper to "send a man to Coventry" if he works harder than his fellow unionists, or defies the union boss? These very relevant issues are too discreetly side-stepped.

THE members of the Labor Party who constitute the Socialist Union, and who also publish the monthly journal *Socialist Commentary*, have now produced a different kind of collective effort in re-thinking. It takes the form of a Penguin Special book on *Twentieth Century Socialism*, and raises the debate to its third deck. Its authors describe it as "a study in applied ethics—Socialist ethics applied to the sphere of economic organization." Its chief writers have been two academics, Allan Flanders and Dr. Rita Hinden of Oxford. They deplore the straightjacket into which Socialist thinking has allowed itself to be confined by concentrating on the material questions of "how much is produced?" and "how is it distributed?" They write:

> Once the straightjacket is discarded, two further questions immediately call for reply—"what is produced?" and "how is it produced?" These are the neglected questions of our time. Their neglect accounts for the topsy-turvydom of our production priorities, which puts washing-machines and refrigerators before houses, cars before roads, and commercial television before schools.

Here is more fundamental rethinking than Transport House has dared to venture upon. And when Hugh Gaitskell, in his own Fabian tract, asks what "equality of opportunity" is for, his answer is "for the pursuit of happiness, however people decide they can best achieve this." In the less inhibited thinking of the academics there is a strong infusion of that nineteenth-century working-class radicalism which produced Labor churches and the ethical societies and the Independent Labor Party. It is significant that *Twentieth Century Socialism* begins and ends with quotations from Keir Hardie, and the last sums up the point:

> If anything is to be really done in this world it must be done by visionaries, by men who see the future, and make the future because they see it.

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GRAFT IN ILLINOIS

Scandal Goes to Waste . . by ELMER GERTZ

Chicago

MOST qualified observers believe that the Democrats here, in the home state of Adlai E. Stevenson, have handed the governorship (and perhaps the Presidency) to the Republicans. Of course, there is a chance that they are wrong. Those who believe that Illinois and the nation deserve better, fervently hope so.

Some weeks ago one of the greatest financial scandals in Illinois history burst upon the Republicans when it was found that Orville E. Hodge, Auditor of Public Accounts, had embezzled over a million dollars in state funds. He was forced out of office and ousted as a candidate for re-election and as a delegate to the national convention. This threatened to submerge Governor William G. (Billy the Kid) Stratton and the entire state Republican ticket, theretofore cocky in expectation of victory. For they had more than the ample Eisenhower coat-tails upon which to ride.

When John Knight's Chicago *Daily News,* with superb journalistic zeal, exposed Hodge, the Granite City glad-hander, Democrats generally were amazingly slow in their response to this heaven-sent opportunity to blast the Republicans out of office in one of the nation's key states. Perhaps because he felt himself vulnerable, Herbert C. Paschen, Democratic candidate for governor, reacted with all the vigor of a child's popgun. Even when the most partisan Republicans were admitting that Hodge's game was up, Paschen was still asking that judgment be reserved "until all the facts were in." Adlai Stevenson reacted with more vigor:

> I trust that the latest reported developments in the shocking Hodge case, which tend to put all the blame on one man, will not obscure the need for a top-to-bottom investigation of the Stratton Administration. It is hard to believe that no more than one man is involved. A full-scale investigation of the Stratton Administration would seem to be called for in order to restore the people's confidence. It would also be interesting to know the source of the funds with which Mr. Hodge sponsored statewide broadcasts urging a heavy vote for President Eisenhower in the primary this spring and for which President Eisenhower publicly expressed his gratitude.

But there was little follow-up on this by Stevenson's Democratic cohorts other than by Michael Howlett, Jr., the candidate for state auditor, and Senator Paul H. Douglas, still smarting from Hodge's description of him in the 1954 campaign as a "saboteur" and "Socialist." Douglas has initiated an investigation by a Senatorial committee which will probably come up with important banking reforms. I wrote to Paschen telling him of an article that I was doing on the Hodge case and asking for an interview. I was no more successful than others in getting him to talk. Mike Howlett was more communicative. I pressed him for an explanation of the dull-witted reaction of the Democrats and suggested that perhaps there were Democrats involved in the picture. He assured me that the only reason Democrats were laying off was because they were convinced the Republicans were doing the spadework for them in digging up pay-dirt.

In record time—indeed, in almost unseemly haste—Hodge and his two principal associates were indicted on over a hundred counts in state and federal courts, pleaded guilty and began serving their relatively mild sentences. Normally, the cases would not have been called for hearing until long past the election. Obviously, matters were being pushed through and out of the way before all of the necessary questions could even be asked, let alone answered. A reading of the transcript of the interrogation of Hodge by the Sangamon county state's attorney, George P. Coutrakon, reveals the easy-going and superficial nature of the interrogations. Later Coutrakon remarked: "The jail wouldn't hold all the people if I indicted everyone who is mixed up in this conspiracy. But I am just after the big brass." One wondered at the time why Paschen and his slate mates did not pounce upon this statement and insist upon action being taken against "all the people" mixed up in the "conspiracy."

ONE complicating circumstance was the divided party affiliations of the prosecuting agencies. In Springfield and in the U. S. Courthouse in Chicago, the chief law-enforcing officials are Republicans, while the state's attorney of Cook county, former Judge John Gutknecht, is a devoted Democrat who has a real fight on his hands for re-election. All nurse ambitions that have occasionally been thwarted. The impending elections make them more nervous than they will probably admit. The atmosphere is thus both good and bad from the public viewpoint.

Meanwhile, a possible reason for Paschen's extraordinary discretion finally came to light. Marshall Field's *Sun-Times* decided that it was not going to be outdone by the *News.* It proceeded to blast away at Paschen because of the so-called Welfare Fund in his office as county treasurer, to which bankers contributed small sums in gratitude for the deposit of tax funds. A similar fund had been maintained by Paschen's Republican predecessors, and no one had ever complained about it. It was admitted, even by the *Sun-Times,* that the situation in his office

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was like a flyspeck in comparison with the monumental Hodge scandals. But within days Paschen was forced to resign as the Democratic nominee for governor. Now everybody felt sorry for him, a handsome, inoffensive lawyer and banker of good reputation, who was really out of his element in big-time politics.

Now it was felt that the Democrats could retrieve their earlier blunder in slating a weak man for the gubernatorial race. There were six days for the Democratic central committee to meet in Springfield and make the choice. Col. Jacob M. Arvey, the shrewdest man in the party, was in Israel and more or less out of touch with the situation. Yet it is to be doubted that he could have done anything had he remained at home, for Mayor Richard J. Daley is now the undisputed local boss of the party. And Daley does not always consult with men who were once regarded as powerhouses in the party. The Mayor is achieving an outstanding record in office but like Ed Kelly before him, he loves the power and glory that comes with making and breaking public officials.

This time Mayor Daley was presumably in touch with Adlai Stevenson, the titular head of the ticket. There were brave sounds to the effect that top-flight Democrats were being considered for the nomination —men like Supreme Court Justice Walter V. Schaefer, who had remade the highest court of Illinois; Stephen A. Mitchell, who had been Stevenson's man as chairman of the Democratic national committee in the 1952 campaign; Joseph Lohman, by all odds the best sheriff that Cook County had ever seen, and a man of vigor, brains and fighting liberalism; County Judge Otto Kerner, and others. It was understood that if Stevenson did not select the man, he would at least exercise a veto over the choice. That impression was deliberately cultivated until the last moment. Then there were reports that the first to be knocked out of consideration would be the ones favored by Stevenson—that he was the head of the Democratic party nationally, but a nobody locally. Suddenly, the tremendous labors were over—and the nomination was given to Superior Court Judge Richard B. Austin, who, in the judgment of many, can no more beat Stratton than could Paschen.

Why was this great opportunity so perversely ignored? Are the Democrats committed to falling down on the governorship here?

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Lemme outa here quick!"

IT SHOULD be understood at once that Richard Austin is a very high-grade man, an adornment to the bench, and, before that, a top-flight prosecutor. And he is a superb orator, of good family, a suburbanite and Episcopalian. No one would think of questioning his integrity or his ability as a lawyer or judge. In such capacity, he would be near the top of any poll of the Chicago Bar Association. But if anyone downstate had ever met or heard of him, before his nomination, it would be surprising, indeed. And what is he going to do about blasting his own former law associate, Governor Dwight Green, whose unsavory record led to Stevenson's tremendous victory against him at the polls in 1948? Orville Hodge had practically kidnapped a bank for Green; a former state treasurer, Congressman Elmer Hoffman, had deposited a mere million dollars of state funds in his fellow Republican's bank. What could Austin say of these things?

Not only the cynical will recall that Mayor Daley achieved remarkable results in Springfield when he went there shortly after his election as Mayor. He got all of the legislative and financial aid he wanted—thanks to Republican Governor Stratton. Some may ask, what was the *quid pro quo*? It was noticed later that on such occasions as the dedication of the Congress Street super-highway, Governor Stratton praised Daley with a fervor that was well beyond official politeness. Many

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observers feel that the pay-off for Stratton's kind cooperation was the slating of Paschen as his opponent, because, clearly, Paschen couldn't lick him. Now they feel that a second pay-off is the slating of Judge Austin. No one thinks that either Paschen or Austin could be directly a party to such a deal, if deal there was. But the realities of the situation speak for themselves.

Why should the Democrats, allegedly eager to win the Presidency for one of their own, as well as other political plums, act as if they don't really care after all?

Certain basic facts should be made clear. A Chicago mayor has much to gain if he is permitted a free hand locally. It is no great sacrifice to give up the state house, which is likely to be Republican anyway. Besides, the Democrats here don't really love Stevenson. They were uncomfortable when he was in Springfield and they like him no more now, however much they may shout his praises publicly. He is not one of them. They think of him as a cold fish who doesn't play their kind of politics, as indeed he doesn't. When former President Truman spoke out against Stevenson at the convention, he was voicing some of the resentments of the Illinois people. Stevenson did less well with the Illinois delegates than Harriman with the New York ones. There were twice as many anti- Stevenson votes as there were anti-Harriman votes in the respective delegations, despite the fact that Illinois has half as many delegates as New York.

Whatever does or does not happen before Election Day, one may be sure that much will be proposed when the state legislature reconvenes early next year. Efforts will be made to enact new corrupt practices laws, long overdue, to eliminate so-called welfare funds, employee assessments, payroll and expense padding and some other obvious abuses. It is clear that the offices of the State Auditor and State Treasurer must be so constituted as to provide adequate checks on dishonesty. New responsibilities must be passed on to the governor, who can now alibi, as does Governor Stratton, that he has no power over other independent offices, although he is top man of his party. This will mean that Illinois will have relatively clean politics until the not distant day when the resourceful politicos think of new ways and means of mulcting the public.

In the meantime, pro-Stevenson supporters—and there are many of them in Illinois—rest their hopes in a fighting campaign on both national and state level. They have high faith in Stevenson; and as for Austin, they are just hoping that this relative unknown will surprise both Governor Stratton and Mayor Daley with his skill and vigor as a campaigner.

Rumbles in Spain . . by J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

French-Spanish Border

I HAVE MET many Americans who toured Spain this summer. When I tell them that there are leading Spaniards who are convinced that Franco's days are numbered, they react with shocked disbelief. "Impossible!" they tell me. "Wherever Franco goes, he is met with great acclaim—banners and cheers and parades. Why, just last August 20 he attended the bull fights at San Sebastian, and you should have heard the roar that greeted him when he entered his box! It was very impressive!"

San Sebastian is only twenty miles from where I write this. I have been told, privately, what happened there. Franco claques, composed mostly of old-line Falangists and police in civilian clothes, were scattered in great numbers through the arena. They started the cheering and everyone else in the audience, thinking that the man next to him might be a policeman, joined in. And what happened at San Sebastian has been happening everywhere in Spain since the student demonstrations shocked Franco with the knowledge that, left to themselves, the people of Spain are no longer in a mood to cheer. The *Caudillo's* propagandists have become singularly adept at planning "spontaneity." Wherever he goes now, truckloads of equipment roll in before him—banners, decorations, an "arch of triumph," loudspeakers, trusted groups of demonstrators whose job it is to start the acclaim.

One can hardly blame the Americans for having been misled. Franco may not be able to feed his own people, but he treats his tourists very well. And, after all, great cheers for Peron resounded through Argentina right up to the very minute the dictator was overthrown there. (Peron's fall was a blow to Franco from which he has not yet recovered; the Falange press carries on an unceasing and insidious warfare against the present Argentine government, holding it up as the evil result of evil revolution.)

In this border community where I write, I speak to many Spaniards who cross over to spend a day at Hendaye, Biarritz or St. Jean de Luz. Even the Franco supporters seem uneasy about the future of their idol, while the anti-Francoists vow that next month, October, will be the "month of decision" for Franco and for Spain. The latter pin their faith on the army, whose monarchist-minded generals are reported to be thoroughly disenchanted with the *Caudillo's* earlier promises to "normalize" his regime and to prepare for his successor. The disenchantment came with Franco's speech on July 18, marking the twentieth anniversary of the Spanish Civil War. "I am the state," Franco said in effect, and he made clear his firm determination never, of his own free will, to relinquish the reins of power. "If that is his will," an army man told me, "then we will have to assert our own."

Many stories have appeared in the European and American press during the last six months indicating the increasing restlessness of Spain's military leaders. As early as last winter, the late Camille Cianfarra of the New York *Times* was

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writing of the activities of the officers' *juntas,* the groups which traditionally spring to life with the first sign of any coming political change. In the spring, the special correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* "practically all outstanding—whether prelates, high civil service, business men and great industrialists, are turning their thoughts to the army." General Carrasco Verde, director of military instruction in Franco's army, gave the first indication that unrest was reaching into the top echelons. Speaking in the *Atanea* of Madrid—the place where the 1930 coup against the Spanish monarchy was prepared—the general said: "If by politics is understood the preservation of the historical continuity of the country, then the army is political." Of course, "historical continuity" is identical with monarchy on the lips of a Spanish officer.

FROM WHAT I learn, Verde speaks no longer for an isolated minority in the highest army echelons, but for a majority of the commanding generals who are unwilling to leave the anti-Franco initiative to the younger officers. But is this majority really ready for action? In all fairness, I must report that many Spanish Republican émigrés doubt it; this is not the first time that a "month of decision" has been foreseen.

In connection with the talk of October action, recent developments —particularly in the field of labor— are worth reporting. Giron, Franco's new minister of labor, is an ambitious demagogue who, like Peron, sought the support of the *descamisados*— the "shirtless ones." He also wanted to ward off strikes. So he gave Spanish workers a 25 per cent increase in pay. Unhappily, the speed of the inflationary current in Spain has rendered the increase useless to the workers. Now the workers want a minimum daily wage of fifty pesetas —about $1.25—and there is no evidence that Giron could give that to them even if he wanted to.

A second development in the labor field is the dissolution of Franco's hand-picked cadres among the labor leadership. These "loyal" leaders were supposed to keep the rank-and-file in line. But in the April strikes in Pamplona, for instance, the workers were led by men of their own choosing; the "official" leaders were nowhere to be seen. It was a remarkably well-directed strike, the more remarkable in that it occurred in a region with a clerical-reactionary tradition and which had long been dominated by Franco's own labor people. My informant is one of a growing number of professing Catholics who feel not only that Franco must go, but the monarchy, too. They prefer the founding of a "moderate Republic," dominated perhaps by a strong Christian Democratic party along the lines of De Gasperi's former Italian regime. Still, the most important anti-Franco leaders in the hierarchy remain staunch monarchists, such as Cardinal Segura, who hates the *Caudillo* on the peculiar grounds that the regime is "soft" on Protestantism. Other Catholic prelates have a better reason for their antipathy. The Bishop of Malaga is now in "voluntary" retirement in a monastery because he has sharply criticized the regime for its lack of social policy and the continued hunger of the Spanish masses.

The New Emigration

On reading a French report of the 1956 *clandestine crossings from Spain.*

They cross the frontier as their names cross your pages,
Quick-eyed, slender-throated, with tongues that have run
As mercury runs to the fever of sun. They come
Without passport or visa or money to ring, traps shut, guitars muted,
Too young for the bleak masks of hunger they wear; coats tight in the arm-pit
and short in the sleeve.
(But hope can be cloak, can be shoes on the feet, can be lash
Out of bull-hide, still tough in the dust when the trumpets are done.)

The joke of it is they are not in the news. Not Koreans pursuing torrent and stone
From northward to southward; not Germans who flux from the east toward the west,
These thin-lipped, these young, who are musical-tongued, have blood that is lava,
Pulse hot in the vein from lover to lover, Spaniard to Spaniard, dead man to son.

Out of the province of Samora,
out of Asturia, Seville, they come,
Bearing in flight their country,
bearing Spain,
Leaving the soft-vowelled names
behind to genuflection;
Not to bend elbow or knee again,
but to cross before the altars
of wild olive trees
Upright, like men. They are a season
of new almond leaves
That France receives in tenderness
like spring.

Does history prove that all men seek the classical
Grave face of liberty, leave interchangeable footprints as they run,
Communicate identical dreams from man to son,
Whatever the continent or century? Men
Are as different as their climates are. The zest of some
Is spiced by the passing of firearms from palm to palm,
War after war, along an iron Rhine; in some
The honey-comb of faith has hardened like an artery. But not in these
Whose presence states a frontier is that undetermined place
One comes upon alone at night, in life, and crosses,
Even if afraid.

KAY BOYLE

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Golden Arm. Algren's earlier work was a straight development from the Dreiser-Farrell school, a sharper focusing of the concept that man is formed by his environment. Dreiser was interested in the titans who made themselves as brutal as the social forces they struggled with; Farrell portrayed the tragedy of man overwhelmed by his environment; and Algren created an epic in which the victims were themselves the instruments of ruthless social forces. Read in conjunction with the factual *The Execution of Private Slovik, The Man with the Golden Arm* becomes an Odyssey whose characters believe themselves at the mercy of powers (Eddie Slovik's "they") as capricious as themselves.

A Walk on the Wild Side is entirely new, however. First of all, it is written in a melodic prose reminiscent of Dylan Thomas'. The latter portion of the book, it is true, becomes overwhelmed by Algren's naturalistic detailing of life in the lower depths; but it remains true to the main theme. As Algren puts it, "The book asks why lost people sometimes develop into greater human beings than those who have never been lost in their whole lives." The mythology and symbols that are commingled in this story of a barefoot, illiterate spiv, last of a line of white trash who "play the whore to no man," extends its meaning far beyond that of the two symbolic picaresque pieces it most resembles, Saul Bellow's *The Adventures of Augie March* and Tennessee Williams' play of a few seasons back, *Camino Real.* Dove Linkhorn, the main character, is a clear indicator that the classifications of David Riesman are not applicable to the ambiguities of present day society, at least as our underground movement of novelists see it. Dove wields his own inner-outer-other directed adaptation of the most effective underground teachnique, the Negro's "Uncle Tom" façade of simplicity.

Here the underground movement against conformity and regimentation of the mind has created a new esthetic. The "Wild Side" is not merely the result of our social order; it is that social order growing wild. Algren sweeps up all the old orthodoxies and dumps them in the garbage can, symbolizing the myth of success as the climb of a decapitated turtle to the top of the heap of its fellows for a moment of arrogant flipper waving before death. Blessed are the spivs, for they shall inherit the earth—after their heresies drive the automatic calculator mad.

The New Laissez-Faire

STERLING-DOLLAR DIPLOMACY. Anglo-American Collaboration in the Reconstruction of Multilateral Trade. By Richard N. Gardner. Oxford University Press. $6.75.

By T. Balogh

MR. GARDNER picked a fascinating topic for his thesis. The extraordinary attempt, in the name of liberty and anti-fascism, to force the world back towards a nineteenth-century type of international trading only restricted by tariffs is much more than of historical interest. It still is one of the most hotly contested international political issues, on the outcome of which the coherence and prosperity of the non-Soviet orbit will to a large extent depend. Only if the "free" world can offer solid proof that it is firmly determined to eliminate the growing inequality in wealth and income will it be able to meet the Soviet challenge. Otherwise we shall go down as we have been going down in the Middle and Far East, in each for different (if not dissimilar) reasons. Yet there can be no doubt that inequality is still on the increase in the non-Soviet world.

Now no one in his senses would advocate a return to *laisser-faire* in domestic politics. If anyone did, he would be eliminated at the next election, and President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill clearly showed that they recognized this by accepting most of the policies of their predecessors. In international economic relations the advocacy of a return to "multilateralism," "non-discrimination" and "convertibility" is still fashionable. Yet international differences in wealth, income and technical knowhow are far more intense than in domestic relations, and of a *cumulative* and not of a self-correcting character. The British Conservatives learned what convertibility would have meant for relative and absolute British living standards when they tried to implement it. They gave up the attempt very quickly indeed.

For Mr. Gardner these problems do not exist. He has, perhaps not unwillingly, forgotten all the modern welfare economics he has been taught. He rewrites history to accord with an impeccable conservative democratic platform. Secretaries Hull and Morgenthau present the great liberal challenge to Britain. Only nasty, inefficient and therefore cartel-minded British industrialists, and even nastier intellectuals such as Professors Carr, Cole and Laski, who were all tainted by the writings of Marx and Lenin (sic) oppose the attempt, together with "left-winger" (sic) G. M. Stokes. In fact, Professor Cole as a Guild Socialist is an extreme opponent of collectivism; Professor Carr wrote a monumental and critical history of the Russian revolution; Professor Laski would also be astonished to hear of these associations; Mr. Stokes is a Roman Catholic on the extreme right of the Labor Party. That the critics were right, and Secretaries Hull and Morgenthau (shades of the pastoralization plans for Germany) grievously

Robert Penn Warren's

report on the inner conflict in the South

SEGREGATION

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wrong is—apparently—just pure coincidence. Fortunately, there were people who were prepared to court unpopularity at the critical juncture in 1947—such, for example, as Professors Galbraith or Bissell—and they succeeded in abruptly changing American policy. They saved the "free" world through the Marshall Plan. There have been many more since.

It is sad that Mr. Gardner has not learnt from them. It is also a sad comment on the American intellectual scene that he should employ McCarthyesque tricks to discredit those with whom he disagrees. He certainly did not learn that at Balliol. At any rate he ought to reflect that it is a stupid thing for a Democrat to do, even a very respectable and conservative Democrat.

T. BALOGH, noted British economist, is a Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford University, and has been active in Labor politics.

Loyalty Trap

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Dodd, Mead & Co. $5.00.

By H. H. Wilson

THE Special Committee of the Federal Loyalty-Security Program of the New York Bar has rendered meritorious service with its recent report. Its review and recommendations for changes in the personnel-security system underscore most of the changes others have urged since 1947, when President Truman instituted the loyalty program. Though careful to avoid any criticism of "those who were called upon to devise and implement the initial 'crash' program," the revisions suggested by this distinguished group of conservative lawyers constitute a devastating commentary on the injustice inherent in procedures which stigmatize individuals for what they may do at some future time.

In summary, the committee's recommendations include: a reduction in the number of employees subjected to clearance from 6,000,000 to 1,500,000; complete abolition of the Port Security and International Organizations Employee Programs; provision for equitable treatment of employees under charges, including pay to continue during suspension or transfer to a non-sensitive position, reimbursement for attorney's fee if employee is cleared, some check on the use of informers; the abolition or "improvement" of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations; an improvement in the caliber and training of security personnel; at least one member on hearing board to come from outside government service.

But despite good intentions and a year of research, financed by a grant of $100,000 from the Fund for the Republic, the report is basically disappointing. Once one accepts the premises of the loyalty-security approach, the retention of due process becomes impossible. Certainly the bar committee has been unable to do so. A federal employee can still be denied the right to cross-examine adverse witnesses or to confront informants, for these elements of due process must be "consistent with the interests of national security" as defined by hearing boards, department heads and the FBI. As Thurman Arnold testified, "You can try a man for what he has done but you cannot try a man for what he is likely to do." It is regrettable that this vital issue was not definitely analyzed by these eminent legal authorities. Had they done so they might have urged the scrapping of the entitre loyalty-security concept and a return to the Lloyd-LaFollette Act which protected the government without permanent injury to individual employees.

H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Princeton University.*

LETTER FROM GERMANY

By William Weaver

Bayreuth-Munich

THE FESTSPIELHAUS, Wagner's model opera theatre, perches on top of The Green Hill, or as it is more simply known in Bayreuth, the Hill. On good days—and this year the weather was fairly clear, despite a tradition of rain during the festivals—the lucky ticket-holders, in varying degrees of evening dress, start strolling towards the theatre from the Marktplatz at around three in the afternoon. They walk along the Karl-Marxstrasse until it becomes Niebelungenstrasse. Then, starting at the foot of the Hill, they climb Siegfried-Wagnerallée until they reach their goal. The operas, most of them, begin at four, but it is the custom to arrive early and promenade on the paved terrace which commands a view of the town.

Most of the streets on the Hill are named after Wagnerian heroes or else members of the Master's family. There is a bus stop called Haus Wahnfried. In a religious-goods shop, I saw a garishly colored chromo of the Master casually displayed among the usual pictures of The Sacred Heart and of St. Thérèse, the Little Flower of Jesus. Candy stores sell marzipan models of the theatre and of Lohengrin's swan; there is a local wine called Rhinegold. And the villagers discuss the Wagner descendants with the same curiosity and awe with which subjects of a tiny dukedom might talk about the reigning house.

There is a deliberate ritual quality about the Festival. Fifteen minutes before the performance is scheduled to begin (and they always begin on schedule), members of the brass section appear on the balcony of the theatre and blow a fanfare (a theme from that night's opera); five minutes later the fanfare is repeated twice, and then again at five minutes before curtain-time, three times. Inside the theatre, the famous "Bayreuth hush" still more or less obtains (an occasional program is

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dropped and, with the splendid acoustics, the thud is phenomenal); there is no applause until the end of the act and no curtain call until the end of the opera. To the outsider, especially to the non-lover of opera, all this cult might seem foolish; but experienced *there,* it is always moving and, at times, impressive. Surely there are few operatic thrills comparable to the beginning of an opera in the *Festpielhaus:* the theatre dark, only a mysterious glow coming from the concealed orchestra, sounding the first chords, while the high grey velvet curtain billows slightly, as if blown by some Wagnerian storm gathering backstage.

And though the performances themselves may not always be perfect, they have something almost as good as perfection: they have a coherence, a feeling of great event, which sweeps the spectators along willy-nilly, even past the dull spots in the Ring, past some of the excesses of Wieland Wagner's schematic *mises-en-scene* with their insistent darkness and their annoying circular platform-stage. One even forgives the Master for not designing more comfortable seats with a place to rest the elbows.

THE cohesion extends to the audience, too; a common life binds all together. Even for first-timers, in Bayreuth a routine is quickly established. Mornings are generally spent studying the libretti and often, in the case of English-speaking visitors, reading Ernest Newman's invaluable classic *Wagner Nights,* with its careful enumeration of the motives and its inimitable deadpan style ("From Sieglinde comes a look of warm understanding, accompanied by a tender breathing of No. 52b in the orchestra. . . ."); afternoons at the theatre are followed by late dinners and discreet drinking of German beer or delicious Franconian wine, probably at the *Eule,* a restaurant lined with photographs of singers and Wagners, frequented by singers and by those festival-goers who can afford a slightly more expensive dinner.

Bayreuth, which opened its *Festspielhaus's* doors eighty years ago, was the first of Europe's music fes-

He Spun, Wove, Set Type, And Taught Cooking!

Surely there has never been another commander-in-chief who, during his years of service, spun, wove, set type, grew and cooked his own food, wrote poetry, and lectured not only to his troops on military strategy and tactics, but also to women's classes on how to preserve vegetables!

Chu Teh did all these things. The fascinating story is told in Agnes Smedley's posthumous book:

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General Evans Carlson, America's famous leader of Carlson's Raiders, said of Chu Teh that he was the only *practising* Christian he had ever known besides his own father, who was a Congregational minister. In *Twin Stars of China,* Carlson wrote that "Chu Teh has the kindliness of a Robert E. Lee, the tenacity of a Grant, and the humility of a Lincoln."

One of General Stilwell's last private acts in China, in October 1944, was to send Chu Teh his lined jacket. Eighteen months later, Stilwell wrote, ". . . It makes me itch to get over there and shoulder a rifle with Chu Teh."

The Great Road will be published on October 15. It is a big book and will sell for $6.75 per copy. Until publication date, we are offering the book at the special pre-publication price of $4.50. By ordering now you will receive your copy immediately and save $2.25.

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tivals, and it remains the most singular. But the ever-increasing number and variety of its emulators is now creating a new kind of tourist: the festival-trotter. Conversations overheard between acts on the Hill turn mostly around references to Edinburgh's *Magic Flute* compared to Glyndebourne's, or Aix's *Don Giovanni* to Salzburg's. Travel agents are learning to get customers from Provence to Bavaria, from Venice to Scotland by the most direct routes.

FROM Bayreuth to Munich is a morning's journey. After the quiet baroque charm of Bayreuth, however, Munich, half-ruined, half-rebuilt in glassy modern, comes as a shock, and not a pleasant one. But the Munich Festival, half as old as Bayreuth's, has its own traditions and attraction; and the high standard of most performances in the *Prinzregententheater* soon puts the festival visitor in a happy frame of mind.

For the American, Munich's program this year (which included Wagner, as well as Mozart and Handel) was interesting for the number of rarely-heard Richard Strauss operas that it offered. They performed eight Strauss works in the course of their two-month festival, comprising all six of the operas he composed to Hofmannsthal texts plus *Salome* and *Capriccio*. This is very rich fare indeed for opera-goers who, in New York, are asked to consider *Don Pasquale* a novelty.

Capriccio, Strauss's last opera, is a wonderful game, a master toying with a form he has long handled and loved. Lisa della Casa sang the leading role—the Countess torn between two lovers—with great charm and a perfect understanding of the spirit of the piece, light-hearted but not coy. The staging, too, was perfectly under-played; the sets were correctly rococo, but in cool greys and off-whites.

Die Aegyptische Helena is not one of Hofmannsthal's best texts, and it is not successful musically either. But for much of the time, and especially in the second act, it offers some of the composer's most lush and rapturous music, thrillingly sung by a young soprano named Leonie Rysanek, who will be singing at the Met during the coming season. She should be a sensation there: her voice is rich, steady and warm; she is an excellent, tasteful musician, and she has an attractive stage personality. It was electrifying to hear her velvet voice soaring over the passionate music of the orchestra; she never seemed to be singing really loud, yet the voice filled the hall and commanded the stage, as Strauss intended it should.

Rysanek also sang the role of the Empress in the Strauss-Hofmannsthal *Die Frau ohne Schatten,* which I heard on my last night in Munich. This opera, almost never performed because of its length and its demanding leading roles, has long been spoken of among *cognoscanti* as a neglected masterpiece; and this Munich performance was enough to convince many in the audience that this view is correct. The opera has recently been recorded on five LP's, but I'm sure that a recording can give only a pallid notion of the impact and the fascination of which the piece is capable when seen in the theatre.

For it is eminently theatrical. *The Magic Flute* was one of Hofmannsthal's favorite libretti, and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* is his attempt to create the same kind of self-contained legend, a story in which everything is magical. The story is complex and sometimes obscure (though less so than the *Flute),* but it is magic to see: ghostly choruses sing; people and houses appear and disappear; supernatural messengers interrupt the action; golden fountains play; birds with soprano voices warn and advise. And in all this, Strauss rose gloriously to the occasion with some of his most powerful music, as well as some of his most tender and moving melodies.

AT THE end of the opera, the excitement was like that at a new discovery; I forgot to count the curtain calls somewhere after the tenth. All around me in the audience there were familiar faces: strangers I had seen every night for a week in Bayreuth and Munich. In our common enthusiasm, we all exchanged nods and smiles of approval, while we went on applauding. It was a supremely joyful event. But it was inevitably sad, too, because one couldn't help wondering when and where one would ever hear *Die Frau ohne Schatten* again. Perhaps another year, perhaps we will hear it in Edinburgh or Aix or Salzburg, or in any one of the hundred musical watering-places, which rise like springs, fresh every year for those who have the energy and patience and money to reach them.

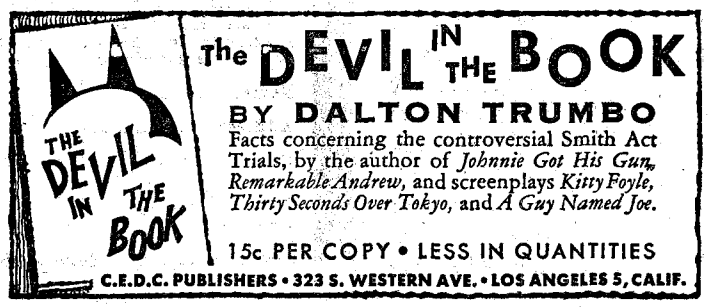
Song of A Denatured Man

Ignorant of the names of flowers or of birds,
Of butterflies, of stones, and even trees—
Like a man at a foreign play to whom the words
Are worse than meaningless, distracting when they would please;

Or like a dull child in a museum, awed yet bored
By all those platters and placards in the glass cases,
Charmed not by bone of whale or Etruscan sword—
Nature to me means discomfort in outdoor places.

Great God, I'd rather be a pagan suckled in a creed outworn
Than waste my hours abroad 'mid the Wordsworthian corn!

M. RIDDLE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The DEVIL IN THE BOOK
BY DALTON TRUMBO
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TELEVISION

Anne W. Langman

THIS is the promotion season for the fall TV lineup. Press releases yield a fine autumn harvest of new adjectives, now that the summer of weeding and cultivating the contract garden is over. "KILL-*to be announced*" say the schedule revisions; "ADD...." Add the old shows, sufficiently blessed by ratings to have made another season, and new shows that hope to rate. Add zeros to the money you can win, super to the spectaculars you can see, frontiers to the worlds you can explore. Add new stars and reconditioned stars, shows in compatible (or incompatible) color, science, religion, drama old and new, politics and news. Add anything you can think of and you'll see it on TV. You'll also see plenty that you didn't think of.

I have been trying to decide whether the shows that get most attention from the network press departments are those which are so good that the fellows want to shout the news from the rafters every day, or so bad that desperate compassion keeps typewriters flashing. Mountains of prose anticipate the "upcoming season" with liberally hyphenated non-stop sentences. Take Cole Porter's "You're The Top" for example—"this star-packed musical, launching the second season of CBS Television's pace-setting, hour-and-one-half 'Ford Star Jubilee' color series (Oct. 6)." There's an S trend in what follows; Dorothy Dandridge, one of the stars, is "a shapely songstress . . . a singing success . . . (was) sweet and sultry in a swank night spot . . . " Shirley Jones, "the musical entertainment world's newest Cinderella . . . now joins the ranks of songstress stars to be spotlighted via the saucy and sentimental hit tunes of Cole Porter." And so it goes for some thirty pages of sweet and sultry adjectives, saucy as can be.

Another series which gets the lavish treatment is NBC's "Producer's Showcase" which "will feature original musical extravaganzas," also star-packed and in the fashionable new 90-minute length. Inspiration for plots varies from a short story in Esquire ("The Lord Don't Play Favorites") to "the famous fairy tale —Jack and the Beanstalk." This series is one of several new spectaculars at NBC. "We believe these new program changes," they say in a fine sentence, "will strongly enhance NBC's already well-established three-some of Spectacular series . . . " Now that super-specs are becoming commonplace, they need another word. Perhaps something like "good"?

ALL is not quite so extravagant in the non-spec division. Drama, true to life or not, is announced in one or two terse releases, with a note of somber sobriety reminding us that life is real and earnest. Justice is flavored with a dash of internationalism and a pinch of history in NBC's *On Trial* series: "historical court trials that commanded world-wide attention based on official documents from different parts of the world and various periods of legal history." History is flavored with justice in ABC's *Broken Arrow* which digs down dangerously near the bottom of the barrel for "the colorful history of the Apache Indian wars in the Southwest during the 1870s." Just to break up the trend, ABC's "Dupont Cavalcade Theatre" "will depart from its previous format featuring historical dramas to present documentary dramas of contemporary interest and also outstanding fictional dramas." They're not going to be classified as anything. "Playhouse 90" opens *its* season ominously on CBS with *Forbidden Area* an adaptation of a Pat Frank novel detailing a planned atomic attack on the United States, proceeds on the gloom-doom kick with *Rendezvous in Blank*, "Cornell Woolrich's suspense-packed novel . . . a starkly written account of a man who becomes a psycopathic killer when his

What can you do for the "Silent Generation"?

Any Saturday you will hear them roaring, "Go! Go! Go!," for their favorite team. Yet these same vigorous voices can become curiously silent when asked to speak up for individuality. The cloak of conformity is the fad today for too many of our college and high school youngsters.

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fiancée is killed by a bottle wantonly thrown from a chartered plane." They break up the despondent mood by wantonly throwing in an adaptation of Kay Thompson's *Eloise*. "Studio 1," which staunchly saved the summer season from desolation continues with what appears, from the stark account, to be an interesting dramatic series.

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This is going to be a big year for exploring. Edward R. Murrow continues to explore people and their houses in *Person to Person*. CBS gives us answers to what they say are frequently asked questions; "Q: What are guests who are public figures really like? A: Since the program emphasizes the human being, they are pretty much as they are on *Person to Person*. Q: Is the program really unrehearsed? A: Yes . . . " *Wide Wide World* will, by the time this reaches you, have started off its 56-57 season with an attempted live pick-up from London on a show inexplicably entitled "Song of America", and Disneyland, an old-timer in the exploring department, will have chilled off the last of summer with its documentary on the Antarctic. Its theme song might well be "Disney Rules the Waves" as Walt seems officially inextricable from the U. S. Navy: " . . . a documentary of South Polar exploration leading to and including the current U. S. inquiry into the frozen wasteland, officially known as Navy Task Force 43. A group of Navy photographers are seen arriving at the Walt Disney Studios for a course of study preparing them for jobs as official cameramen of the Antarctic expedition." Not to be outdone, CBS is partners with the U. S. Air Force in a twenty-six part series, *Airpower*, on the "development of flight and its impact on 20th century man." And one of my favorite shows, *Medical Horizons*, which is produced by ABC in cooperation with the American Medical Association, has a sponsor who comments: ". . . the greatly expanded coverage and continuity of the new series will inspire increased confidence in the American medical profession." Who would say that TV does not think big?

"THE internationally syndicated columnist, one-time vaudeville hoofer and discoverer of top entertainment talent . . .," Walter Winchell, will have his own variety show. It is touted in a triumphant announcement from NBC: "Mr. Winchell's unique usage of the printed English language, known as 'Winchellisms' is his journalistic trade mark. In the spring of 1919, Winchell began writing a neatly typed page of personal items about the cast of the show he was in; he titled the sheet 'NEWSENSE'—his first word-wedding." Well, even newsense won't make much sense in the face of the nonsense of the upcoming season. Illusion and anticipation mourn the killing of that imaginative word-wedding, "To be announced." I wish they had let it live.

RECORDS

B. H. Haggin

A YEAR AGO RCA Victor assigned Richard Gardner to work with Toscanini on the processing of recordings from the material of his broadcasts. Gardner not only is one of the most competent of engineers but has an excellent ear for musical sound; in addition he is said to have disapproved of the "enhancement" of Toscanini's recordings, and in fact announced in an article that henceforth the records would reproduce the sound that Toscanini had heard in Studio 8H or Carnegie Hall. This led one to hope the damage to previously issued recordings also would be undone; and as it happened the first piece of work by Gardner that Victor issued was the new versions of the Toscanini recordings of Beethoven's symphonies in LM-6901.

These, it turns out, undo not all of the damage to previous versions, but most of it. What remains is a little false gloss on Nos. 2 (except the first movement), 3, 4 and 5, to make their dry, lustreless or strident sound more agreeable; and except for No. 4, which is made dull by reduction of treble-range, they are now sufficiently clear and bright; but the original deficiency of bass in No. 5 continues to produce a lack of solidity in the first movement and to make the plucked bass-notes inaudible at the beginning of the second. These are the poor and defective recordings of the series; why

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the gloss was put on the beautiful sound of No. 6 is beyond my comprehension. The other good recordings, Nos. 1, 7, 8 and 9, are free of it; but I must report that No. 1 has a slight sharpness, and No. 8 an unpleasant sharpness, which require reduction of treble, and that the first two movements of No. 7 lack the solidity down below which the last two have (my guess is that somebody threw a wrong switch in the transfer from tape to master).

Next came LM-1973, with the previously issued Respighi *Feste Romane* and a new recording of Kodaly's *Hary Janos* processed from the NBC acetates of the broadcast of November 29, 1947. This was the time when a new engineer for the broadcasts began to experiment with changes in the microphone placement which the previous engineer had found to be optimum for Studio 8H —the result being not improvement but worsening of the broadcast sound. And since the Victor recording can't be better than its source, it is no surprise that the sound of the *Hary Janos* performance is thin and shallow, without body and solidity. What is a shock is its nasty quality, and the fact that this appears to be the result of extreme peaking of treble. One can hear, however, that the piece is played superbly—which is the only reason for listening to it.

After this, LM-2001 offered a recording of Mozart's Symphony K.543 processed from NBC acetates of the broadcast of March 6, 1948, and a reissue of the Mozart Divertimento K.287 formerly on LM-13. The sound of the symphony has body and solidity, but the ear-piercing violins are evidence of excessive peaking of the treble again. Turning the treble down drastically makes them sound normal and agreeable; but the gritty distortion and stridency in the third and fourth movements I am able to eliminate only with an 8,000-cycle sharp cut-off. As for the performance, Toscanini once spoke of the difficulty of playing Mozart—of knowing, that is, what to do between the *p* here and the *f* eight bars later; and his own knowledge of what to do is evident in the exquisite inflection of phrase in the two Allegros and the Andante. But he also complained often that the term Andante usually was taken to mean slow; this led him not merely to play an Andante movement Andante in terms of its substance, but to make the performance a demonstration of Andante being played Andante in terms of the time-signature; and in the second movement of the Symphony K.543 the Andante in terms of the two beats in each measure is much too fast for the proper flow and articulation of the substance. The obsession about everything being "too slow" caused him also to play the Adagio introduction of the first movement a little too fast for it to have the majesty it should have. And the obsession extended even to Allegretto—the result being a Minuet that is too fast for the music to have proper grace.

WHEN the performance of the Divertimento K.287 was first issued I said it was the one I would choose to demonstrate Toscanini's powers as a musician to listeners fifty years from now; and hearing the performance again—the inflection of the Allegros, the Andante grazioso and the Minuet; the powerful shaping of the Adagio as a grand vocal declamation; the perfect tempos, including those of the Andante and Minuet —I feel the same way about it. But for the demonstration I would use LM-13, which was a literal dubbing of the original excellent 78-rpm recording, not the new LM-2001, which produces a sound that has been slicked up and altered—the violins glossy, the bass heavy and like a deep, soft cushion.

Next, LM-1951 offered the performance of Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* broadcast on November 29, 1953, which may be one of those that Victor recorded directly from Carnegie Hall that year. Again the treble has been stepped up; when it is reduced the sound is natural, spacious and solid, except for a momentary shallowness in the first measure of the finale (probably the Victor engineer fussing with the controls). The work is a marvel; Toscanini's performance of it was incomparable; and the record therefore is one of the great events of the year.

What's The Truth About Vitamins?

Ever since Ponce de Leon first went in quest of "The Fountain of Youth," man has continued the search. His endeavors have brought him close to his goal, for it was about thirty years or so ago, that Casimir Funk discovered the first vitamin. Shortly afterwards, other vitamins that maintain good health were isolated. Incidentally, the name was at first, vitamines, because it was thought that certain vital substances, called amines, were responsible for these effects. Later the name was altered to vitamin.

For centuries it was known that only sailors who came back from long trips and had eaten of the citrus fruits that they had brought with them, were free from a skin condition known as scurvy. But it was not until many, many years later that we learned that a deficiency of Vitamin C produces scurvy.

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LETTERS

"Part" of the Law?

Dear Sirs: While pointing out the shortcomings of the Republican civil-rights plank, Mr. R. T. McKenzie made this comment in your September 1 issue: "There is no clever loophole such as that provided for themselves by the Democrats, who described the decisions of the Court as 'part of the law of the land,' with the clear implication that other 'parts' include the state laws designed to prevent desegregation."

I see no such clear implication in the wording. Supreme Court decisions can be called "the law of the land" only with the meaning of "part of the law." The remainder is not to be found in state laws protecting segregation, but in Article VI of the United States Constitution: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The decisions of the Supreme Court are part of the law of the land because they define and apply the Constitution and laws of the United States. That makes them a part of the *supreme law,* by which the judges in every state are bound, the law that is superior to state laws and constitutions.

If there was any "clever loophole" in calling the Court decision *part of* the law of the land, it was to enable unhappy segregationists to excuse their acceptance of the plank by offering an interpretation which they know to be fallacious. I don't think it is because McKenzie is a visitor from England, relatively unfamiliar with our Constitution, that he fell into this error. Most Americans probably know much less about it than he does. But the great majority of them, regardless of party affiliation, will uphold the Supreme Court's decision either because they believe it to be right, or because American history furnishes a steady stream of evidence that it is in fact a supreme part of the supreme law. The impact of that historical truth is felt even by those who know nothing about its development. It helps to make the expediency of party platform-drafters —Democratic or Republican—a trivial drag upon the course of events.

IRVING BRANT

Washington, D. C.

Immuring the Muralists

Dear Sirs: Both *The Nation* and Mr. Grosser are to be commended on the latter's provocative article in the September 1 issue on the state of mural painting in the United States today. . . .

In developing his . . . thesis, however, Mr. Grosser makes several value judgments which I feel demand some reexamination. If Mr. Grosser truly believes that "the principal difficulty . . . is one of subject matter," then let us take a second look at his estimate of WPA mural art and the Mexican mural movement. . . . Without wishing to go into a long defense of WPA art (which it seems current fashion to denigrate) let us remember that it was not subject matter, but a frenetic Congress which killed the WPA—theatre and music as well as its murals. . . . In the context of a program which, in its entirety, lasted less than a decade I believe American artists made noteworthy steps in the exploration of significant thematic material. . . .

Mr. Grosser then goes on to say "there has also been a great deal of mural painting of this order in Mexico during the last three decades. But these pictures can scarcely be called real painting." Now what, precisely, are Mr. Grosser's own criteria for "real painting"? Fortunately he elaborates upon this term twice in the latter portion of his article. First he says, "Real painting, to have any sort of integrity must be painted about things which interest the artist himself." Then later, "Real painting has two characteristics which these [abstract-expressionists] do not possess—it exploits a third dimension and it communicates ideas."

I submit that on the basis of Mr. Grosser's own statements he can hardly say that Mexican mural art can "scarcely be called real painting." I am of the opinion that Orozco, Rivera and Sequieros, to mention only those Mexican muralists whom the American public knows best, were very profoundly interested in the subjects that they painted and that the Mexican people in turn expressed deep allegiance to both the painters and their works. . . .

I feel more sanguine than does Mr. Grosser about the future of mural (and other) art in our country. If our generation of artists and intellectuals has been called the "silent" and the "conforming" generation, then certainly abstract-expressionist art is a more perfect concomitant of both these qualities. But I feel increasingly confident that this period in our lives is coming to a certain close and that a new hope and affirmation will make for more than one "story worth painting."

Let us, however, have more of Mr. Grosser's critical articles.

EDWARD BIBERMAN

Hollywood, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Maurice Grosser's article on abstract painting is as brilliant and enlightening an example of critical writing as it has been my pleasure to read in many a year. And the long-needed surgery is so deftly done, you do not know he has used the scalpel until the operation is over. . . .

I suddenly find myself able to indulge in unrestrained enjoyment of the work of the better abstract painters free of the strong feeling of resentment, anger, incomprehension and frustration that frequently would seize me. And why? For the simple and (now) most obvious reason that I can regard and respond to them purely as decoration—the work of brilliant and talented artisan-painters. . . .

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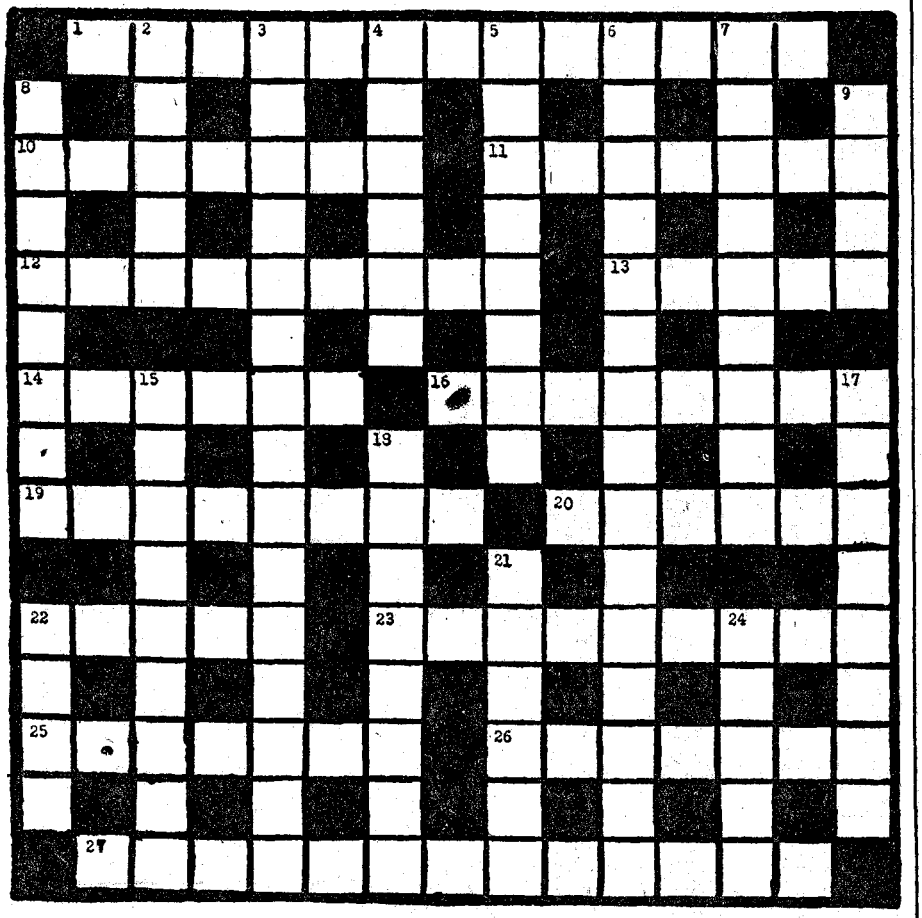
Crossword Puzzle No. 690

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 You may have seen this crane fly, but we usually think of a harvestman by this name. (5, 8)
10 Did Clarence's murderer make this the butt of a grisly joke? (7)
11 Directed away from the axis. (7)
12 Lawyers might take them in the train. (9)
13 Might be the first of 6, or just a joint. (5)
14 If you do it to a battery now, it might not imply a second Balaclava. (6)
16 Content of thinking. (8)
19 Pertaining to the navy town in New York, in the original finish. (8)
20 Not indicative of employment, certainly. (6)
22 Tactlessly hasty. (5)
23 Strictly speaking, the way Leicas act. (9)
25 Protection for the sewer. (7)
26 Windy? (7)
27 Scattering among things when iron is present. (13)

DOWN:

2 Give a share to all. (5)
3 There must be a difference with such things. (15)
4 This might be a song to people, but probably not in order. (6)
5 What will a horse do when you don't mount so? Raise Ned! (4, 4)
6 Officially dissolved April 18, 1946. (6, 2, 7)
7 The present association with block tackle is more common than their culinary implications. (9)
8 and 9 Don't expect a fast break to be thrown in this way. (8, 4)
15 Would only Democrats give it unto Adlai? (9)
17 Is a mountaineer attracted to such a calling? (8)
18 Talks about something a friend states. (8)
21 A fight is only part of the predicament. (6)
22 They catch insects and flies off them at times. (4)
24 Place where company might hold the tune. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 689:

ACROSS: 1 REHABILITATION; 9 SILENCE; 10 IMPROVE; 11 DOTAGE; 12 MISCHIEF; 14 PEAFOWL; 15 INNER; 17 SHEET; 19 TITHING; 21 GLOAMING; 23 AMENDS; 26 NATTIER; 27 KNICKERBOCKERS. DOWN: 1 RESIDENTS; 2 HILLTOP; 3 BENIGNANT; 4 LIED; 5 TRIVIALITY; 6 TOPIC; 7 OXONIAN; 8 AND 25 ACROSS LEIF ERICSON; 13 CONTINENCE; 15 IDIOMATIC; 16 REASSURES; 18 EROSION; 20 GENUINE; 21 GREW; 22 MUSIC; 24 SNUB.

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